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Shock Incarceration: An Overview of Existing Programs

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James K. Stewart
Director

U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs
National Institute of Justice

Shock Incarceration: An Overview of Existing Programs

by

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Issues and Practices in Criminal Justice is a publication series of the National Institute of Justice. Designed for the criminal justice professional, each *Issues and Practices* report presents the program options and management issues in a topic area, based on a review of research and evaluation findings, operational experience, and expert opinion on the subject. The intent is to provide criminal justice managers and administrators with the information to make informed choices in planning, implementing and improving programs and practice.

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FOREWORD

High crime rates and a heightened sense of vulnerability have led to increased public pressure on criminal justice officials to remove dangerous criminals from our streets. This in turn has created an unprecedented growth in the corrections population and consequent crowding of prisons and jails. Escalating correctional costs and intolerably high rates of recidivism by released prisoners or offenders on probation have become issues of critical concern to the Nation's criminal justice policymakers and administrators.

In many jurisdictions, correctional authorities are experimenting with new methods of managing offenders' behavior—within and outside of institutions—in an effort to relieve some of the pressure on prison facilities while preserving public safety. One such experiment is the intensive short-term "shock incarceration" program, patterned on highly disciplined military "boot camps." Such programs are more rigorous than community service, providing an intermediate punishment for young offenders. They also allow for a more creative use of correctional facilities than simply "warehousing" prisoners.

The research review presented here attempts to document emerging experience with "boot camp" corrections programs. It reflects the continuing support of the National Institute of Justice for timely research relevant to the needs of corrections practioners.

Carefully structured shock incarceration programs are new, first appearing just five years ago. But, due to their strong intuitive appeal to policymakers and corrections professionals as well as the public, they have expanded rapidly. Currently there are 15 programs operating in 12 states, with others on the drawing board.

The appeal of shock incarceration is easy to understand. Millions of Americans have gone through military basic training. For most, boot camp was a vivid experience that taught a long-lasting lesson: the importance of hard work, self-discipline, teamwork, and values in accomplishing goals. For many policymakers and corrections officials, boot camp is not an abstract concept, but something they can relate to through personal experience. Boot camps may have served as an important point of transition in their lives, leading to a highly responsible lifestyle where meeting exacting performance standards was critical to success.

Whether "boot camp" programs serve a similar function for offenders is not yet clear. Two key questions remain unanswered. Can the "boot camp" model for shock emersion produce positive changes, either by rehabilitating offenders or deterring them from future criminal activity? Can offenders' conduct in a shock incarceration program help correctional officials make decisions about the need for further treatment, training, or supervision following release to the community?

The National Institute of Justice is continuing to support projects designed to answer these questions. This report is the product of the first such project. It identifies the objective of each existing program, describes its operation, and highlights important management, policy, and research issues. Telephone interviews were conducted with officials of all "boot camp" programs operating in late 1987, and researchers visited six programs in four states.

The National Institute of Justice is also supporting, in conjunction with researchers at Louisiana State University, a thorough evaluation of a shock incarceration program operated by the Louisiana Department of Corrections. The results of that study should be available within the next year. An NIJ-supported multistate evaluation of shock incarceration programs now in its initial stages will give us even more definitive information.

The Institute hopes this document will aid policymakers and corrections officials considering development of shock incarceration programs. Equally important, we hope it will stimulate officials to plan, design, and implement rigorous evaluations of new programs that are developed. This will add to the sound empirical foundation needed for informed policy choices.

James K. Stewart
Director
National Institute of Justice

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INTRODUCTION

Shock Incarceration (SI), which first was implemented in 1983, has emerged as a new and popular correctional program. SI involves a short period of confinement, typically three to six months, during which young offenders convicted of less serious, non-violent crimes, who have not been imprisoned before, are exposed to a demanding regimen of strict discipline, military-style drill and ceremony, physical exercise and physical labor. Some, but not all, SI programs also offer vocational training, education, and rehabilitative services.

Most SI programs operate within a conventional state prison, but with SI participants separated throughout their confinement from regular inmates. Supposedly, this will deter participants from future crime by giving them a close and sobering exposure to the realities of prison life, but without subjecting them to abuse, exploitation, or corruption by hardened criminals. However, some SI programs reject deterrence as a purpose, and operate in a separate institution (like a forestry camp) that does not contain regular inmates.

SI has a rehabilitation goal as well. Officials note that the disciplined regimen, as well as traditional treatment services, may enhance participants' impulse control and diminish problems that hinder lawful living, thereby making them better able to avoid criminal behavior in the future. Often SI is intended to reduce prison populations, by shortening the length of confinement for offenders who would be in prison anyway.

The development of SI programs is proceeding rapidly. On January 1, 1987 only four programs existed. By late 1988 fifteen programs were operating in nine states, three more were scheduled to open in 1989, and at least nine other states were considering SI development.

SI's political appeal is broad and easily generated. Media coverage invariably conveys visual images that are consistent with the public's desire to punish criminals—e.g., staff shouting commands in an inmate's face, or inmates performing hard labor and grueling physical exercises. SI usually evokes a positive response from the large number of public officials and policymakers who themselves went through military boot camps during their youth. SI also appeals to correctional practitioners. Some see it as a promising new way to reform young offenders. Others are attracted by the themes of enhanced control and regimentation. Finally, some see it as a possible way to ease prison crowding. In a sense, shock incarceration is a program that can be—at least in perception—all things to all people.

Yet we have very little solid information on shock incarceration. By late 1988 no evaluations of SI programs had been completed.

At present there are two NIJ sponsored research projects evaluating shock incarceration programs. The first began in 1987 and is *An Evaluation of Shock Incarceration in Louisiana* being completed by the Louisiana State University in cooperation with the Louisiana Department of Public Safety and Corrections. The study focuses on four components in examining the effect of shock incarceration on the correctional system in Louisiana: (1) system level changes, (2) individual level changes, (3) a qualitative and descriptive analysis, and (4) an examination of costs and benefits. Plans are to complete the study in 1988 and a final report should be available in late 1988 or early 1989. Some preliminary analyses have been completed (see MacKenzie, Gould, Riechers and Shaw, 1988; Riechers, 1988; and MacKenzie and Shaw, 1988).

The second NIJ sponsored project, *A National Study of Shock Incarceration* was initiated in late 1988 as a joint project between researchers at NIJ, Louisiana State University and evaluators in the states studied. This project, using a design similar to the earlier evaluation, will examine whether the findings from Louisiana generalize to other programs and which characteristics of the programs lead to success or failure in meeting the goals of the shock incarceration programs.

In 1987, the Georgia Department of Corrections began a longitudinal evaluation of their SI programs, and the New York State Department of Correctional Services and the New York State Parole Board began a joint evaluation of SI in New York. By late 1988 preliminary data on inmates' in-program performance was emerging from the Louisiana study, and some client-flow information was emerging from all three studies (i.e., numbers admitted, terminated during the program, released, return to prison rates for SI participants, etc.). But preliminary data comparing outcomes of SI participants to comparison group inmates will not be available from any of the evaluations until mid to late 1989.

Even when those data are available, more research will be needed. There are substantial differences among SI programs, even ones operated by the same Department of Corrections. Some emphasize different goals, use different program elements, different screening mechanisms, and different operating methods. NIJ is planning a larger study, in which a common research

design will be applied to five additional SI programs, to see if the findings of the Louisiana study generalize to the others.

Earlier evaluations of related programs are of limited usefulness in making judgments about SI. Basic training is designed to mold young (predominantly male) civilians to the needs of the military, not to alter criminals' attitudes or behavior. In fact, the military goes to great length to exclude criminals from its ranks. While basic training may change recruits' attitudes, there is no hard evidence that such changes have any bearing on recruits' likelihood of committing crimes. The military services have used programs like SI for over a decade for some personnel convicted of certain crimes under military criminal law. However, those offenders typically are discharged after they complete their sentences, and the military does not collect follow up data once they return to civilian life.

SI has other roots in civilian corrections. Two earlier corrections programs—"Scared Straight" and "shock probation"—each had a specific deterrence objective. The former tried to deter by making young delinquents fear prison through short (two or three hour) confrontational performances staged inside a prison by menacing groups of "lifers". The latter locked up young adult offenders in the general prison population for a short term (90 to 120 days) so they could get a real taste of prison life. As described in Appendices A and B, evaluations of these programs give little cause for optimism—at best offenders exposed to them failed at rates similar to comparison groups. At worst, they failed at significantly higher rates.

SI also has roots in treatment-oriented "challenge" programs (see Appendix C), patterned after Outward Bound. These programs use difficult physical and mental challenges to build young offenders' self-confidence, self-esteem, and self-control. Studies of such programs give somewhat greater cause for optimism. Although evidence is not conclusive, some studies found significantly lower recidivism rates among young offenders who completed challenge programs than among comparison groups. The use of challenge programs has grown in juvenile, but not adult, corrections. A wilderness expedition may look too much like "summer camp" to be marketable as an adult criminal sanction. SI may provide a parallel (though clearly not identical) challenge in a setting that is politically more palatable.

Because of the lack of specific information on shock incarceration, NIJ commissioned this study to review existing programs. The study has two basic objectives:

- to provide information to policymakers who must decide whether or not to develop new shock incarceration programs; and,
- for those developing new programs, to identify key issues and problems they should consider and resolve.

Between September and November of 1987, Abt Associates conducted a two-phase study of shock incarceration. Phase one involved a review of relevant literature and initial telephone interviews with officials in all fifty state Departments of Corrections. Phase one let us document the history of shock incarceration, identify all existing and planned programs, and describe the goals and political considerations that motivate program development decisions. These findings are discussed in Chapter One.

Phase two involved on-site observations of six shock incarceration programs in four states (Oklahoma, Georgia, Mississippi, and New York) as well as extended telephone interviews with officials operating SI programs in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. These findings are discussed in Chapter Two.

Chapter Three, based on policy analysis of all facets of the study, offers advice on future program development and evaluation.

The limits of our study should be understood clearly. Given the dearth of information on SI programs, we decided to do an overview of as many programs as possible with our limited resources, rather than to examine only one or two in great detail. Therefore, we did not try to evaluate impacts or outcomes. We did not try to answer questions like "does SI deter more effectively than probation or regular prison?" Likewise, while we observed some aspects of program operations, we did not do a rigorous process evaluation that could answer questions like "were the programs operating as intended in their original design?"

Due to the nature of our design, several specific caveats are in order. For example, in all states we interviewed some persons involved in screening, but we did not observe the pre-program screening decisions. In states like Georgia, those decisions are made at the sentencing court level. In others, like New York, they are made in the Department of Corrections reception centers. We know that screening criteria and processes vary among the programs, and it is very likely that those differences could affect both how the programs operate and participants' long-term outcomes. We know that all programs require SI inmates to volunteer to be in the program. Thus, any findings in this study (or in the on-

going evaluations) may not apply if a jurisdiction should decide to institute a compulsory SI program.

Second, we interviewed SI staff who worked at the programs at the time of our interviews. We did not interview staff who voluntarily left the programs, who were involuntarily transferred to other assignments, or who were fired or otherwise had left correctional employment.

Third, among SI participants we did not interview inmates who voluntarily withdrew from the programs, or who were terminated due to misconduct. Among SI graduates we did not interview those convicted of new crimes or whose parole or probation had been revoked. Often these inmates were scattered in several state prisons, and during our brief site visits—about two days per program—we simply did not have time to track them down.

Finally, we did not randomly select the SI inmates and graduates that we interviewed. At the SI programs, we selected inmates for interviews purposively—e.g., to get a mix of inmates from both urban and rural areas, as well as those who had been in the programs different lengths of time. However, probation and parole staff selected the SI graduates we interviewed, based on the graduates' availability at a probation or parole field office on the date of our visit.

Chapter 1: THE HISTORY, INCIDENCE, AND GOALS OF SHOCK INCARCERATION

History and Incidence of Shock Incareration Programs

The idea of shock incarceration first arose in the late 1970's in discussions between the Commissioner of the Georgia Department of Corrections and a local judge. In 1981 a Georgia Department of Corrections internal planning memorandum described the concept of shock incarceration. In December 1983 Georgia opened its first shock incarceration program, which it termed Special Alternative Incarceration (SAI), at the Dodge Correctional Institution near Chester, Georgia; in 1985 it opened a second program at the Burruss Correctional Institution near Forsyth.

An SI program in Oklahoma dates to the same general time frame. Effective January 1, 1984, a new law required the Department of Corrections to prepare re-sentencing plans for certain non-violent offenders committed to prison during their first 120 days of incarceration. The law provided that, unless the prosecutor objected, the DOC's re-sentencing plan would become the new sentence—a provision that angered judges, and which later was declared unconstitutional (at that point, the program continued under authority of a different statute). Oklahoma officials decided to keep the offenders at the Lexington Assessment and Reception Center while the re-sentencing plans were being developed, rather than dispersing them in prisons around the state. They developed shock incarceration, which they termed Regimented Inmate Discipline or RID, to provide a focused activity for these inmates during that 120 day period. Oklahoma's RID program began operating in November, 1983, one month before Georgia's program opened.

In 1984 a group of Mississippi legislators and correctional officials toured the Oklahoma program during the Southern States Correctional Association annual conference. Mississippi opened its RID program at Parchman Prison one year later.

Since then, interest in SI and program development has increased sharply. By the end of 1988 fifteen SI programs were operating in nine states. Officials in these states reported that they expected to implement programs during 1989, and planning, policy discussion, or legislative activity on shock incarceration were underway in nine other states.

Table 1-1 summarizes SI programs, start-up dates and capacities around the United States.

Political Constituency for SI Development

According to respondents in those states planning or operating SI programs, the impetus for SI development generally has not come from correctional officials, but from judges, governors, and legislators. In states where policy discussions or planning was underway we asked respondents to name the individuals or groups providing impetus. Two-thirds named legislators or the governor, while only one-third named Departments of Corrections. In states operating programs, we asked respondents to identify SI's strongest supporters (they could name more than one person or group). State Departments of Corrections were mentioned twice, while judges were mentioned four times, legislators three times, and criminal justice advocacy groups were mentioned twice.

We also asked respondents in states operating SI to rate the strength of support for their program among different criminal justice officials, using a nine point scale, where 9 means very strong support, 5 means neutral and 1 means very strong opposition. The results are shown in Table 1-2.

While all groups were supportive, corrections officials ranked lower in their support than other criminal justice actors. Among the fifty jurisdictions we contacted, only one reported any opposition to shock incarceration. That came from a citizens group advocating alternatives to incarceration, which feared that SI would increase reliance on imprisonment.

Legislators, judges and the public, in addition to having higher enthusiasm for SI than corrections officials, may have different reasons for supporting it. In many states a political constituency for SI has developed, spawned, in part, by extensive favorable media coverage. SI makes "good copy," conveying powerful visual images well suited to the electronic media. Above all, SI evokes themes which are clearly in tune with (and some critics say cater to) popular desires for a quick fix to crime through harsh punishment, discipline and deterrence. Even in states where SI proposals appeared stalled, it was generally not due to political opposition.

Table 1-1
Shock Incarceration Programs
for

Jurisdiction	Date Program Opened	Males		Females	
		Number of Programs	Total Capacity	Number of Programs	Total Capacity
Georgia	12/83	2	200	0	--
Oklahoma	11/83	1	150	1	40
Mississippi	4/85	1	140	1	60
Orleans (LA) Parish	1/87	1	60	1	28
Louisiana	3/87	1 (co-ed)	120*	--	--
South Carolina	7/87	1	96	1	28
New York	9/87	2	500	0	--
Florida	10/87	1	100	0	--
Totals		**10**	**1,366**	**4**	**156**

* 5-10 females on average

Rather, policy makers seemed unable to focus on SI due to other crushing pressures, such as prison crowding, federal court orders, or construction costs where existing facilities could not be used.

Criminal Justice Goals in Developing SI

In states considering program development we asked criminal justice officials why SI was being discussed. Respondents could list more than one reason. They gave three broad categories of responses, which are discussed below.

Improved Resource Management

State correctional officials cited improved resource management—that is, controlling prison crowding, or reducing costs—as the main reason they were considering SI. Together, those accounted for 15 of the 27 responses (55.5%).

Most recognized that SI programs cost as much as or more on a per day/per inmate basis than standard imprisonment. However, they hoped SI could improve resource management in two ways. First, they hoped it would cut the average length of incarceration for offenders who would be imprisoned anyway if the program did not exist. Second, they hoped SI would deter or rehabilitate more effectively than imprisonment, thereby cutting return rates.

Appeal of Enhanced Discipline

About one-fourth of the respondents said SI's enhanced discipline appealed to correctional officials as well as politicians. Some saw it as a way to link politically popular themes (discipline, punishment, deterrence) with pragmatic management objectives (controlling prison crowding, expanding sentencing options, etc.)

SI appeals to a large number of correctional staff and administrators who served in the military or who entered corrections following military retirement. The basis of that appeal is varied. To some, it stems from nostalgia about an important experience in their youth. To others, it stems from a principled belief that military basic training can cause lasting behavioral change. If their youth boot camp "made men" out of them; they assume SI will do the same for today's young offenders. Because so many criminal justice officials and policy makers went through basic training, SI programs are likely to command broad, quick and unquestioning support. Legislators don't need theoretical rationales—many feel they have an intuitive understanding of SI based on personal experience.

Enhanced discipline is also consistent with current correctional management themes. When prisons are chronically crowded and violence within prisons is increasing, administrators need new tools to help run more safe and orderly institutions. Shock incarceration programs are remarkably safe and orderly in comparison to general prison conditions. While the intensity of a shock incarceration program likely could not be maintained for inmates serving long sentences, many might consent to living under heightened discipline if the tradeoff were greater personal safety.

Many officials we interviewed thought that SI could not be imposed on imates previously imprisoned—they

Table 1-2
Strength of Support for SI in States Operating Programs

Criminal Justice Group	Average Score
Judges	7.9
Law Enforcement	7.6
Legislators	7.3
Prosecutors	7.0
Parole Boards	7.0
Probation/Parole Officers	6.6
DOC Managers	6.3
Prison Administrators	6.2
DOC Administrators	6.0

simply would not submit to the discipline. Others, however, suggested that SI or derivations of it may have broader applications. For example, Mississippi is developing an SI-type regimen for all offenders, (with and without prior prison terms) admitted to its reception center at Parchman Prison. Mississippi officials believe that a rigorous, highly disciplined three-week reception process will produce more compliant and manageable general population inmates.

About two-thirds of New York's SI participants, although first time state prisoners, have spent between four and six months in New York City's Riker's Island. Although confinement at Riker's Island is probably comparable to state imprisonment in many jurisdictions, these inmates have posed no special management problems for program officials.

Several DOC's reported that they had been or were being led into SI by powerful policy makers who favored enhanced discipline. For example, in Mississippi an influential legislator toured Oklahoma's RID program in 1984. When he returned to Mississippi, he vigorously advocated shock incarceration. DOC officials also had toured the same program and were interested in SI, but the legislator's advocacy clearly hastened development. Some DOC officials noted they would be hard-pressed to resist SI development in the face of uniform support from a broad coalition of criminal justice interests.

In states operating SI programs, officials noted that the programs had improved the political stature of the correction system. SI encouraged positive attitudes toward the DOC among judges, prosecutors, police, and legislators, which correctional officials were quick to exploit and reluctant to jeopardize. In some states, officials used SI's political appeal to leverage other reforms.

For example, in 1984 and 1985 the Louisiana DOC failed to win legislative approval for intensive supervision. In 1986 the DOC proposed to create a shock incarceration program and to use intensive supervision as the re-entry mechanism for SI graduates. The Legislature approved both programs.

Improved Effectiveness of Correctional Intervention

About 20 percent of the officials interviewed said they were interested in SI because they thought it would be a more effective correctional intervention. Again responding intuitively, they believed firmly—and in some cases fervently—that SI programs would help rehabilitate offenders and deter future crime. Some officials indicated they had heard glowing anecdotes that claimed success rates in excess of 97 percent for some programs.

In many cases, officials report that this perception has rejuvenated corrections staff who advocate rehabilitation as a dominant purpose. One SI program director told how a drill instructor came to him one day, almost in tears, after getting a letter from an SI graduate thanking the officer for having helped him. It was the officer's first such experience during his 15 years in corrections.

Prospects for Goal Achievement

Despite the high levels of enthusiasm, it is not clear that SI's expected benefits will occur in all cases. Most states lifted SI eligibility criteria from earlier deterrence-based shock probation laws. Those laws restrict SI to persons believed most likely to be deterred—young non-violent offenders who have not been confined before under sentence. Those criteria may fit thousands

of felons each year coming before judges for sentencing, most of whom would have gotten probation in the past. There may be room for only a few hundred in SI.

It is unlikely that research on past sentencing will more accurately identify which offenders in this large pool are prison-bound, because even the most careful research leaves a large amount of sentencing variation unexplained. That may be because our best research methods are not equal to the task, or because official records contain too much bad or missing data. It could also be that a substantial amount of sentencing variation cannot be explained by factors suitable for use as selection criteria.

These broad eligibility criteria are especially problematic when judges have unrestrained discretion in selection. However, states with presumptive sentencing guidelines are in strong position to divert prison-bound offenders. If an SI program were developed, for example, in Minnesota, correctional officials could recommend to judges that SI be used as an alternative for certain offenders for whom the guidelines recommend imprisonment sentences.

In states without presumptive sentencing guidelines, the most effective way to reduce prison crowding with SI may be to use it as a "back-end" option—that is, have corrections officials select participants from among regular prison admissions and have the parole board release them. In states with parole guidelines, as in New York, officials can get a solid estimate of the person-months of confinement saved for each SI completion.

Other factors affect attainment of population reduction goals. Those who voluntarily withdraw (dropouts), those who fail in the program and are removed by staff (washouts), and those who graduate but fail on community supervision and return to prison (violators) all reduce the person-months of cell time saved, if any, by original placements in SI. If those rates are high, any savings in cell-space can be eroded quickly.

As shown in Table 1-3, in most states, maximum annual SI capacity is small, relative to total prison population, and, therefore, is likely to have little total effect on crowding, even if all other factors (selection, washouts, violators, etc.) are working at optimum levels. Under ideal conditions, SI programs might reduce prison populations by two to four percent in most SI states. Such reductions would be indiscernable in normal yearly fluctuation in prison populations. Unless states implement other policies that limit discretion in the use and duration of prison terms, reductions due to SI may be backfilled quickly by minor changes (or continued drift) in overall sentencing practices.

The problem is not merely one of adding more SI capacity. It is one of deciding who SI should be used for (which also means deciding what is to be achieved by the program) and identifying how many such offenders will be available for screening. In New York, officials originally had planned to open four 250-bed SI camps, with a total annual capacity of 2,000 inmates. However, they have found that the existing criteria produces a pool of eligible inmates deemed appropriate for SI that is sufficient only to fill two such camps. In the future, they must either change their SI criteria or alter their plans to expand the programs.

Thus, even under the best of conditions, SI may be able to make only a small dent in a state's prison population. SI is likely to be only a small part of the solution to prison crowding.

Similarly, the possible benefits of enhanced discipline may depend on how SI is administered. While consistent limit setting may have a positive impact, a harsh but irregularly administered program may cause increased inmate volatility and hostility.

Preliminary case tracking data raises questions about SI's capacity to reduce recidivism. The Oklahoma DOC used survival analysis to compare return rates of SI graduates with similar non-violent offenders sentenced to the DOC. After 29 months almost half the SI graduates, but only 28 percent of the other group, had returned to prison.

In a three year follow-up, the Georgia DOC found that 38.5 percent of their SI graduates returned to prison. For Georgia SI graduates who were in their teens when admitted to SI, 46.8 percent returned to prison within three years of release. In an earlier study, Georgia researchers found little difference in one-year return to prison rates for SI graduates, and similar offenders sentenced to prison and to a youthful offender institution. It should be emphasized that neither of these studies involved carefully constructed comparison groups.

Three more rigorous evaluations are underway. In Louisiana, the evaluation was integrated into the initial program design. It will involve comparison (non-SI) and experimental (SI) groups, and will collect data on psychological and attitudinal changes in each group over time, as well as measures of post-release behavior and recidivism. Reports on initial outcomes will be available in early 1989.

In New York, officials plan to use several comparison groups: (a) offenders eligible for SI, but who refused to volunteer; (b) those who volunteered, but who dropped out; (c) persons eligible for SI, but who were released from prison just before SI was implemented;

Table 1-3

State	Maximum Annual SI Capacity*	1987 Prison Population	SI Capacity As A % Of Prison Population
Georgia	800	16,291	4.9%
Oklahoma	570	9,596	5.9%
Mississippi	760	6,561	11.6%
New York	1,000	38,449	2.6%
Louisiana	360	14,300	2.5%
South Carolina	496	11,022	4.5%
Florida	348	32,228	1.1%

*Maximum annual capacity equals SI bedspace × 365 ÷ average length of stay.

(d) and Network graduates (a therapeutic community program also offered in SI) from other institutions. Program data from New York will include before and after measures of educational attainment, as well as incidents and disciplinary reports. Post release data will include supervision conditions assigned, community program participation, living arrangements, employment record, results of drug testing, as well as revocations and new convictions. Preliminary evaluation results will be available in early 1989.

The Georgia evaluation will use prediction instruments to develop expected failure rates for SI graduates and comparison groups. Outcome data will include revocations and returns to prison. With over 3,000 SI admissions since 1983, Georgia will be able to provide long-term outcome analysis. Preliminary results are expected in late 1989.

Until evaluation results become available, policy makers should view claims of incredible success with skepticism, and should be cautious about proceeding with SI development on the basis of high hopes, preliminary data, or press clippings. Departments operating programs bear special responsibility to assure that program information released to the public, press, or fellow practitioners is accurate and balanced.

In states considering programs correctional officials should make certain that political leaders are fully aware of the current lack of evidence about the ultimate impact and effectiveness of SI. Decisions on whether to develop programs should be made prudently after considering the purposes to be achieved, how they will be achieved, and information on the strengths and shortcomings of existing programs. If states decide to implement SI, they should perform a rigorous evaluation of its operation and impact—and must provide the resources needed to conduct such a study.

Program Description: New York's Camp Monterey Shock Incarceration Facility

Camp Monterey Shock Incarceration Facility is operated by the New York State Department of Correctional Services (NYSDOCS), and is located at Beaver Dams, New York, about twenty miles north of Corning. Camp Monterey is a "stand-alone" minimum security institution, and houses 250 SI inmates. The institution has a total of 131 staff (83 custody positions) of which 26 (13 custody positions) were added when the camp was converted to SI. It costs $3,667,562 to operate the camp each year, about $458,470 more than a standard NYSDOCS camp.

NYSDOCS screens inmates arriving at its reception centers. Those who meet statutory criteria are offered the chance to volunteer for SI. NYSDOCS' screening is rigorous and the attrition rate is high. Of those who meet statutory criteria NYSDOCS rejects about one-third. About three-fourths those offered SI volunteer.

Judges play no role in the selection process. Inmate platoons enter the program once a month and remain together as a unit throughout the six month program. Each platoon lives in a large open dormitory. When inmates complete the program, they are released by the parole board to an intensive form of parole supervision, termed "aftershock."

In addition to physical training and drill and ceremony, inmates perform eight hours of hard labor each day. Following evening drill and ceremony, inmates participate in therapeutic community meetings, compulsory adult basic education courses, individual counselling and mandatory recreation. Inmates with substance abuse problems must attend Alcohol and Substance Abuse Treatment. The program involves extensive reentry planning and job seeking skills training.

The program features a monthly "graduation" ceremony patterned after those used at the conclusion of military basic training. NYSDOCS officials attend and give graduation speeches. Awards are made to the inmate who scored highest on the rating system used by staff, and to the inmate who showed the greatest improvement.

NYSDOCS recently opened a second 250 bed SI facility at Camp Summit, and in 1989 will add a women's unit to the Camp Summit program, and a third 250 bed SI program.

Program Description: Oklahoma's Regimented Inmate Discipline (RID) Program

Oklahoma's Regimented Inmate Discipline (RID) program is located in a 145 bed quadrangle at the Lexington Assessment and Reception Center, about 60 miles south of Oklahoma City. It was the first SI program, established in November, 1983. Lexington is Oklahoma's main reception center and also houses about 600 long term general population inmates. The RID living unit is classified as medium security.

The DOC screens offenders received at Lexington for placement in RID. Those who meet statutory criteria may volunteer for RID. Inmates live in single or double-bunked cells.

As in other SI programs, RID emphasizes strict discipline, physical training and drill. However, other than housekeeping and institutional maintenance, there is no formal hard labor component. Rather, inmates spend three to six hours each day in educational and vocational programs. Drug abuse education programs, and individual and group counseling also are provided. Oklahoma gives greater emphasis to education and vocational training than any other existing SI program. RID participants are separated from general population inmates except during vocational training and education programs.

The DOC prepares a resentencing plan for each inmate. When an inmate completes the 120 day SI program, the DOC recommends that the judge resentence them to probation, under supervision requirements outlined in the resentencing plan. If the judge refuses to resentence, the DOC can transfer the offender to "community custody", where he will serve the balance of his prison term in a tightly structured community setting, supervised by a correctional officer and will comply with the supervision requirements established in the resentencing plan. The offender may begin community custody with a six-month stay at a halfway house, followed by home detention and intensive supervision.

Oklahoma officials acknowledge that their RID program costs more than similar living units at Lexington. The RID unit has 17 staff positions, including 9 custody and 6 program staff—about 6 more total positions than a comparable non-Rid unit. It costs about $349,500 to operate RID each year, or about $129,500 more than a comparable living unit at Lexington.

In late 1987 Oklahoma opened a RID program for females at the Mabel Bassett Correctional Facility in Oklahoma City.

Program Description: Mississippi's Regimented Inmate Discipline Programs

Mississippi operates its Regimented Inmate Discipline (RID) program in a minimum security camp located about a mile from the nearest other prison facility on its Parchman complex. The camp can hold 140 inmates, who are housed in large open dormitories.

Judges control the selection process. They may sentence any offender to RID who meets very broad statutory criteria. The DOC admits any offender sentenced by the courts (who passes medical screening); if necessary, the SI program will tailor a physical regimen to fit the abilities of older or physically impaired offenders.

Mississippi's RID features physical training, drill and ceremony, hard labor, and treatment. Mississippi officials recently restructured the program to add four hours of hard labor each day to reduce the amount of idle time, and revised and amended a reality therapy curriculum. There is no educational or vocational component to the program.

Mississippi recently shortened the Parchman program from 120 to 90 days, and added a 60 day reentry component, where RID graduates live in a half-way house and perform community service. Thereafter, they are released to regular probation supervision. Initially, RID graduates also were assigned a community volunteer who acted as adviser, mentor, and role model. However, conflict over the roles of the volunteers and probation officers, coupled with concern for liability issues, lead the DOC to scrap the community volunteer component.

The Parchman program has 13 staff members, including 6 custody and 5 program staff, and costs $279,715 to run each year, about the same as other minimum units at Parchman. At the time of our study, cost estimates for the reentry halfway house were not available.

In early 1987 Mississippi opened an RID program for women at its new Rankin County Correctional Institution near Jackson. Inmates share a dormitory living area with a group of non-RID trusties. At the time of our visit, 12 women were in the RID program, down from the maximum of 30. Two custody staff were assigned full time, with a program director and several other staff positions assigned on a part-time basis.

Program Description: Georgia's Special Alternative Incarceration (SAI) Programs

The Georgia Department of Corrections operates two Special Alternative Incarceration (SAI) programs for male offenders. Their basic structure and design are the same, although they differ in minor respects. Judges control SAI selection and impose SAI as a condition of a probation sentence. If offenders complete SAI successfully, there is no need to resentence them to probation.

The first SAI program opened in December 1983 at the Dodge Correctional Institution in South-central Georgia, near Chester. The DOC opened a second program in March 1985 at Burruss Correctional Institution near Forsyth to reduce the backlog of cases waiting for an available SAI slot. Both are relatively new medium security institutions. In both SAI inmates are completely segregated from general population inmates who also reside at the institutions.

Burruss takes cases from northern Georgia, including metropolitan Atlanta. Dodge takes cases from more rural southern Georgia.

Georgia's 90 day SAI programs involve physical training, drill, and hard work. There are two exercise and drill periods each day, with eight hours of hard labor in between. At Dodge, SAI inmates often are transported to other state facilities or prisons to perform labor-intensive tasks. Sometimes they perform community service for nearby municipalities and school districts. At Burruss SAI inmates work on the grounds of the Georgia Public Safety Training Academy, adjacent to the prison. Except when they are doing community service, SAI inmates work under supervision of armed guards.

There is little emphasis on counselling or treatment. Programs are offered on drug abuse education and sexually transmitted diseases. A parole officer assigned to each program coordinates reentry planning. When SAI graduates are released, they go on regular probation supervision.

At Dodge CI, 100 inmates are double-bunked in two 25 cell units connected by a central control room. At Burruss, 100 inmates are single-bunked in four 25-cell units, each two of which share a central control room. Because it takes more staff to cover four units than two, the Burruss SAI program has 20 staff positions, compared with 12 for Dodge. The annual operating budget for Burruss' SAI program is $468,734, compared to $320,729 for Dodge. Georgia officials maintain that it costs no more to operate SAI at Dodge and Burruss than to run other living units at those prisons.

Chapter 2: PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT

Shock incarceration programs vary widely in design, focus and management. Each of the programs studied:

- provides a short (90 to 180 day) period of imprisonment followed by a return to community supervision;
- recruits predominately young adult offenders who have not been in prison before; and
- provides a highly regimented program involving strict discipline, drill and ceremony, and physical training.

Beyond that, some programs heavily emphasized traditional institutional treatment programs, while others did not. For some, reducing prison crowding was a top goal, while for others it was not important. Some programs saw deterrence as their main purpose, while others rejected it explicitly. Some operated at general population prisons, while others were separate institutions housing only SI inmates. Some were co-ed, while others served only males or females.

To analyze program operations, Abt Associates conducted site visits, reviewed program data, and conducted extensive interviews at six SI programs in four states. During site visits we interviewed DOC officials, SI directors and staff, SI inmates, SI graduates on probation, judges, prosecutors, and probation or parole officers. The SI programs studied on-site included those at the following facilities:

1. Lexington Assessment and Reception Center (Oklahoma)
2. Parchman Prison (Mississippi)
3. Rankin County Correctional Institution (Mississippi)
4. Dodge Correctional Institution (Georgia)
5. Burruss Correctional Institution (Georgia)
6. Camp Monterey Shock Incarceration Facility (New York)

We chose Oklahoma, Georgia and Mississippi because all three had operated programs for over two years. New York's SI program, although more recently implemented, had unique aspects which merited study as well.

Additionally, we studied programs in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida by reviewing available program information and by doing telephone interviews with state corrections officials. We reviewed one local program in Orleans Parish, Louisiana.

Definition of Goals

Careful definition of program goals is essential to effective program design. It must precede initial planning, and must inform all stages of decision-making as the program progresses. Indeed, because shock incarceration may be appropriate to meeting some goals but not others, early goal definition will help states decide whether SI is even worth investigating. Due to the excitement and emotionalism surrounding shock incarceration, there is a danger that in policy deliberations officials may not consider carefully a jurisdiction's overall criminal justice priorities and whether SI is likely to advance them.

For officials considering SI development, a clear view of purpose and process is essential. By clearly examining, defining and ranking purposes, officials are more likely to make rational decisions on whether to develop such programs. If they choose to develop SI, they are more likely to implement a coherent program which will be better able to achieve the chosen purpose or purposes.

Conceivably, SI could be considered to achieve any or all of the following criminal justice goals:

- **Deterrence**
  SI could deter future crime by making the threat of a prison sentence for future crime more credible and onerous (because the offender has been given a clear and unpleasant view of prison life).
- **Rehabilitation**
  SI could rehabilitate in two ways. First, the experience of strict discipline could improve an offender's self-esteem, self-control and ability to cope with challenging and stressful situations in the free world. Second, additional program components (drug treatment, education, job seeking skills, etc.) might be more effective in ameliorating problems related to an offender's criminality when provided in a

more structural and disciplined setting.

- **Punishment**
  SI could inflict proportional punishments under a "just desserts" framework, as a punishment more severe than probation but less severe than longer term imprisonment.

- **Incapacitation**
  SI could be developed under a risk management framework of community supervision, in which incapacitation is achieved by control, not extended periods of confinement. Officials would use a risk classification system to classify offenders, selecting SI participants on the basis of risk. (For example, they might select offenders at lower risk than those imprisoned but at higher risk than those on probation.)

- **Reduce crowding/cut costs**
  SI could be used to cut costs by reducing prison crowding, but only if all or most SI participants would otherwise have received longer prison sentences.

As shock incarceration programs are developed, which goal or goals is paramount will influence nearly every aspect of the program. Program duration, for example, might need to be relatively brief if the priority is to reduce immediate crowding; if the goal is rehabilitation, a longer program may be essential. Similarly, the amount of time spent on hard labor versus hours of job skill training would clearly be influenced by whether punishment or rehabilitation was considered most crucial.

In that light, this chapter describes and assesses key aspects of program operation.

Program Administration, Eligibility and Costs

Eligibility Criteria

Offender eligibility criteria for shock incarceration programs typically have been derived, directly or indirectly, from pre-existing shock probation laws, which tend to be deterrence-oriented. While most states have passed new SI laws, they have used eligibility criteria similar to those found in shock probation statutes. Two states, Mississippi and Oklahoma, used existing shock probation laws as the legal foundation for shock incarceration.

Of the eight states operating shock incarceration programs in December, 1987, all limit SI to offenders who have not been sentenced to prison before. Six of the eight restrict SI to those convicted of non-violent crimes, while two limit SI to offenders who are legally eligible for parole. In four states the offender's current sentence must be less than a prescribed upper limit (e.g., less than seven years, less than five years, etc.). Four states limit participation to offenders in specified age ranges—e.g., between 17 and 25 years. Seven of the eight states exclude offenders who have physical or mental impairments that restrict full participation. In all states, offenders must volunteer. Table 2-1 summarizes eligibility criteria for existing programs.

Although most correctional officials cited the need to control prison crowding as a primary reason to consider SI, current eligibility criteria are not well suited to achieving that end. In most programs now in operation, officials suggested that there is a greater tendency to use SI as a substitute for probation than to use it as an alternative to longer term imprisonment. Indeed, eligibility standards restrict SI participation to the very offenders who would likely have been given non-confinement sentences if SI were not available—thus using more, not less, prison bed space.

Specifically, the criteria usually establish only upper limits on eligibility, and define very large pools of offenders, the vast majority of whom have gotten probation in the past. The pool of eligible offenders often is many times larger than available SI program capacity. In Georgia the pool includes all non-violent felons less than 25 years old who have not been in prison before and who currently are convicted of crimes with maximum sentences of five years or less.

Decision-makers thus have very broad discretion in selecting a small number of offenders for placement in SI from the larger pool who are eligible. When Georgia DOC researchers developed comparison groups for an evaluation of its SI program, they found large groups of offenders who met SI eligibility criteria, but who got a variety of other sentences, including regular probation, intensive probation, and confinement in youthful offender institutions and state prisons. Of course, state officials might decide to use SI, not to reduce prison populations, but to provide a new and enhanced probationary sanction. Even so, it may be important to develop lower limits on eligibility so that SI is not used for true neophyte criminals.

For SI to reduce prison crowding, two things must happen. First, SI must not be used largely for offenders who otherwise would have received only probation. Instead, eligibility criteria should define a class of offenders who predominately received prison sentences in the past or who definitely will be imprisoned if they

Table 2-1
Shock Incarceration Eligibility Criteria

Jurisdiction	Offender Age Limits?	Limit On Type Of Current Offense	Must Have No Prior Prison Sentence?	Limit On Current Sentence?	Must Have No Phyiscal Or Mental Impairment	Offender Must Volunteer	Other
Georgia	17-25	none	yes	1-5 years	yes	yes	
Oklahoma	18-22	non-violent	yes	none	yes	yes	
Mississippi	none	non-violent	yes	none	no	yes	
Orleans Parish	none	non-violent	yes	≤7 years	yes	yes	
Louisiana	none	parole eligible	must be first felony conviction	≤7 years	yes	yes	Division of Probation and Parole must recommend; court must recommend. DOC must find offender is particularly likely to respond favorably
South Carolina	17-24	non-violent,	yes	≤5 years	yes	yes	
New York	16-24	non-violent non-escape	yes	indeterminate	yes	yes	No prior indeterminate sentence; eligible for parole within 3 years
Florida	none	none	yes	none	yes	yes	

are convicted of the current charge. In states with sentencing guidelines that specify which offenders should be imprisoned, eligibility criteria could be keyed to those guidelines. In states with indeterminate sentencing, analysis of past sentencing patterns—both to prison and to probation—likely will be needed to identify offenders who have a high probability of being imprisoned.

Second, the length of the SI program must be substantially less than the prison term those offenders otherwise would serve. If, for example, SI inmates serve only one-fourth the time they would otherwise have served, they will also free up prison bed space four times more quickly. Thus, a 100 bed prison living unit could house 100 prisoners per year if each stayed the full year; if, instead, each stayed only for a 3 month shock incarceration program, 400 could be accommodated (or 100 per 3 month period) over the course of the year.

Actual long term reduction also depends, of course, on whether offenders successfully complete the program and avoid recidivism upon release from SI.The bed space savings described above would have little utility if a large percent of the 400 SI offenders quickly returned for longer prison terms after committing new crimes. Thus, deterrence or rehabilitation, in addition to being program goals in their own right, may be necessary to meet a long range goal of reducing crowding.

Existing SI programs typically target young adult offenders with less extensive and serious prior records, and with non-violent current crimes. Such targeting is based on an assumption that SI will be a more effective deterrent for younger impressionable offenders who have not been exposed to or adopted inmates' culture and values.[1]

Younger offenders with less serious current crimes and less extensive prior records are likely to fail less often than older offenders who have committed more serious crimes, who have more extensive prior records, and who have been imprisoned before. Offenders who meet SI eligibility criteria are more likely to succeed in avoiding further criminality, whatever the program in which they participated. The key question—whether SI is a more effective deterrent for these offenders than other program placements—remains unanswered. Only with continuing program evaluation will the relative

[1] Practitioners also cited management reasons for these criteria—for example, they believed that offenders who had been in prison before would not submit to SI's rigorous discipline and would be management problems.

effectiveness of SI in deterring or preventing future crime be established.

If officials want to use SI to achieve purposes other than reducing overcrowding and deterring future crime, different selection criteria may be needed. For example, if SI is intended to inflict proportional punishments under a "just desserts" framework, officials should first decide where SI fits in the range of available criminal sanctions. They might reasonably rank SI as a more severe punishment than the most intensive form of probation, but less severe than regular imprisonment. If there is to be a direct relationship between the seriousness of offenders' crimes and the severity of their punishment, then eligibility criteria should identify a relatively small group of offenders who deserve more severe punishment than the most onerous form of probation, but less severe punishment than regular imprisonment.

If shock incarceration is used to protect the public by reducing the opportunities of high-risk offenders to commit new crimes, eligibility criteria should be defined in a risk-management framework. For example, officials might use a risk assessment instrument to select the low to moderate risk cases from among those sentenced to prison for placement in SI. Conversely, they might select the highest risk cases from among those sentenced to probation, so that SI becomes a more rigorous form of intensive supervision. Reentry supervision for those leaving SI could be more intensive for those who score higher on risk assessments.

Selection Process

In some states judges control SI selection, while in others Departments of Corrections control or strongly influence selections. Mississippi used an existing shock probation law (termed "earned probation") as the foundation for its SI program. As a result, judges effectively control selection, and the DOC admits any offender that a judge sentences to SI.[2] In Georgia as well, judges control SI selection, and the DOC rejects only those who are medically unfit to participate.

Officials who want to use shock incarceration to reduce prison crowding should note that, in several jurisdictions, unrestricted judicial control of the selection process seems to impair attainment of that goal. In both Mississippi and Georgia some officials noted that many persons sentenced to SI would have been on probation in the past and that the program likely was increasing rather than reducing prison populations. Many inmates in the those programs had very minor prior records (a few had none at all) and were convicted of relatively minor current crimes. From the viewpoint of judges concerned with deterrence or with enhancing the severity of probation such offenders may have been an entirely appropriate group. But if SI is to be used to control prison crowding, a different selection process may be needed to insure that SI targets offenders who would have otherwise been imprisoned.

In several states, this is accomplished by giving correctional officials greater influence in selection decisions. South Carolina's selection process, is particularly noteworthy. In South Carolina, where SI is used to achieve the objectives of proportional punishment and prison population control, judges have final authority to decide who goes to SI, but are guided by highly specific criteria formulated jointly by the Department of Corrections and the Department of Parole and Community Corrections (DPCC).

Under a legislative scheme first proposed by the DPCC in 1985, SI is one element in a defined "continuum of sanctions" ranging from unsupervised probation to maximum security imprisonment. The continuum includes intermediate sanctions, such as restitution centers, home detention, intensive probation, and community service. SI is ranked as the most severe intermediate sanction short of regular imprisonment.[3]

Probation officers use the DPCC criteria to formulate sentencing recommendations to judges. First, they score offenders on a criminal history index. Intermediate sanctions are recommended for all offenders with criminal history scores between 17 and 28. (Those with higher criminal history scores get prison recommendations and those with lower scores get recommendations for less restrictive sanctions such as fines or standard probation.) Second, they apply specific selection criteria for intermediate sanctions (including SI) to identify those most suitable for each. Although the judges retain the ultimate sentencing authority, in most cases their sentences reportedly are consistent with the probation officer's recommendations.

South Carolina does not try to divert offenders who otherwise would be imprisoned into SI. Rather, SI and the other intermediate sanctions are intended to be used for a pool of offenders a majority of whom would have gotten probation in the past. However, by making a wide array of options available to judges and by

[2] Mississippi's earned probation law sets no age limits, and places few current offense limits on eligibility. As a result, some older offenders have been sentenced to Mississippi's SI program, including one 63 year old man who was a severe and life-long alcoholic.

[3] DPCC convened an advisory committee representing law enforcement, prosecutors, defenders and judges to assist it in developing and implementing the continuum of sanctions concept.

reducing variation in the use of those sanctions (via structuring probation officers' recommendations), DPCC hopes to reduce the size of the minority within this pool who get prison terms, thereby reducing prison commitments by 10 to 15 percent.

In some states, attempts to give direct power over SI selection decisions to correctional officials have encountered difficulty. An Oklahoma law, giving DOC officials the effective power to re-sentence offenders they found suitable for SI, was opposed by judges and ultimately ruled unconstitutional. (Oklahoma officials now use a different statute as the basis for SI.) As a result, judicial support for shock incarceration now appears lower in Oklahoma than in other states. Oklahoma officials estimate that about one-third of the persons in SI were sentenced by judges with the intent that they participate in the program. In the other two-thirds of the cases, judges fully intended the inmate to serve a regular prison term.

In Florida, DOC officials select offenders for SI from among inmates sentenced to prison. However, they ask the sentencing judge to approve each SI placement. Thus, judges can veto, but cannot initiate, the selection decision. Florida judges use sentencing guidelines that recommend which offenders should or should not be imprisoned. That, coupled with DOC-initiated selection, should assure that most SI inmates in Florida truly would be imprisoned otherwise. North Carolina officials plan a similar "veto" role for judges when they implement their SI program in 1988.

The New York State Department of Correctional Services (NYSDOCS) has complete control of the SI selection proeess. New York law defines SI eligibility criteria. NYSDOCS screens prison admissions to identify cases that meet those criteria. If inmates pass their physical examinations, they may volunteer to participate. Judges have no veto power. When inmates complete the program, they are released by the Parole Board, not by judges. By consulting New York's parole guidelines, NYSDOCS estimates that the average inmate who completes SI will shorten his or her prison term by 12-18 months.

Of course, New York judges could read the statutory criteria, and sentence eligible offenders to NYSDOCS with the hope that they would be selected for SI. But that would not assure an inmate's selection. To date, NYSDOCS has sought little publicity for its SI program, and has not made a concentrated effort to inform judges about it. SI placement is not raised in presentence reports and, apparently, is not discussed in plea bargaining. Thus, there is little reason to believe, at present, that the availability of SI has altered judicial sentencing patterns in New York.

The Orleans Parish SI program, operated by the Orleans Parish Criminal Sheriff, also has been developed in a way that probably reduces the Parish prison's population.[4] Inmates are selected toward the end, not the beginning, of their confinement. Specifically, Orleans Parish staff select current prison inmates who meet the statutory criteria and who are nearing their minimum parole eligibility date. They have reached an informal understanding with the parole board that inmates who complete the SI program will be paroled on their minimum eligibility date. Thus, in Orleans Parish, SI operates not as a way for minor offenders to avoid prison, but as a way to reduce the length of local prison terms.

In states developing new SI programs the type of selection process used should be linked to chosen program purposes. If DOC wants to enhance probation and give judges yet another sentencing option for less serious offenders, then a process controlled by judges may be appropriate. However, if DOC officials seriously want to use SI to reduce prison crowding, selection processes should give them enough influence or control to ensure that they can reasonably attain those goals.

Voluntary Consent

In all states offenders must sign a form volunteering to be in the Shock Incarceration program. To some extent, DOC's view this as a legal shield to limit their potential liability and as a foundation for imposing summary punishments for misconduct—that is, punishments inflicted without normal due process requirements. Finally, some see it as an important indication of the offender's commitment to being in and completing the program.

Others suggest, however, that pressures on offenders are so great that participation cannot truly be voluntary. Most offenders perceive the choice either as a few months in SI or several years in prison.

Conceivably, the argument that the consent is not truly voluntary could be used in a liability suit by an injured SI participant against a DOC. Thus, while the use of consent forms is a wise precaution, Departments should be aware that it is not necessarily an inviolable shield against liability if a participant is injured due to dangerous or negligent DOC practices. To make the consent as likely to withstand challenge as possible, it should be clearly written in plain, non-legalese English

[4] The Parish Prison is a local correctional institution operated by the Criminal Sheriff. Under Louisiana law offenders can serve sentences of up to three years in the Parish Prison. Due to state prison crowding, a substantial number of state inmates serve their sentences in the Parish Prison. In most ways, the Parish Prison closely resembles a maximum security state prison in other jurisdictions.

(and any necessary translation), should state that the participant is aware that he or she is not required to sign up for SI, and should be signed, dated and witnessed.

There are substantial differences in the rate at which offenders offered SI actually sign volunteer forms. In Georgia and Oklahoma almost all sign. In New York, almost half refuse. Those differences may reflect the types of offenders being recruited. In Oklahoma and Georgia many offenders eligible for SI have not been confined (even in local jail) in the past. Their fear of a prolonged prison sentence prompts them to "volunteer". By contrast, two-thirds of eligible New York inmates have been confined in local jails, most often for significant periods in New York City's Riker's Island. They are less uncertain and less anxious about doing hard time.

If participation is indeed voluntary, then should inmates be able to withdraw at their will? In some programs that is, in fact, the practice. For example, in Orleans Parish SI inmates may withdraw at any time and return to the Parish Prison. Staff report that about 40 percent of those admitted withdraw before program completion, most during the first week or two, when adjustment is most difficult and muscles are most sore. Some programs prohibit voluntary withdrawals for the first three weeks, but permit them thereafter.

Oklahoma, however, does not let inmates withdraw. Those who volunteer must spend all 120 days in the SI unit. Oklahoma officials stress that SI offenders have long avoided responsibility for their actions and decisions. If they could withdraw at their will, it would reinforce that pattern of avoidance.

Oklahoma uses a variety of internal rewards to encourage good behavior, including assignment to living units with somewhat more amenities and privileges. For minor misconduct, those amenities and privileges may be withdrawn. For more serious or persistent misconduct, inmates may do short terms in isolation cells within the SI unit. Inmates are told that if their misconduct continues, they could spend all 120 days in isolation—but they will, nonetheless, serve all 120 days in the SI unit.

Program Costs

In all four states officials said that SI program costs for food, clothing and consumables were about the same as for regular prisons. Nonetheless, more intensive demands on custodial and/or rehabilitation staff in many SI programs led to higher daily costs per inmate, as compared with regular prison inmates.

It is important to note, however, that cost per day may not be the best indicator of actual cost to the state in offender disposition. In all states (even those with higher SI costs per day), officials believed that SI cost the state considerably less per inmate than regular imprisonment because SI inmates are confined for shorter periods.

If, indeed, SI programs do significantly reduce time served, cost savings to the state can be significant. Consider, for example, a hypothetical SI program which incarcerates 100 inmates for 90 days each, at a cost of $40 per inmate per day. Total cost for the 90 days would be $360,000. If each of those 100 participants were then supervised in probation for the balance of the year at a cost of $2 per offender per day, that would add an additional $54,000, for a total cost for the year of $414,000.

If, however, each of those inmates had served an average one year in the state penitentiary at a (lower) per day cost of $35 per inmate per day, the total cost would have been $1,277,500. In this example, the SI program, although costing more per day per inmate, would have saved the state $890,000 for each 100 SI participants.

Unfortunately, as noted earlier (in sections B.1 and B.2), many of the current programs do not appear to draw SI participants primarily from the pool of offenders otherwise likely to serve prolonged prison sentences. If most SI participants would have otherwise received probation, the SI program will significantly increase total correctional costs. To continue the above hypothetical, if those 100 SI participants had all received probation at a state cost of $2 per probationer per day, the state would have expended only $72,000. By choosing the $414,000 SI program instead, the state would have increased its cost by $342,000 for each 100 SI participants.

While these examples are extreme and greatly simplified, they illustrate two key points:

1. If SI is used as a simple initiative to reduce costs, programs must admit primarily offenders who would otherwise have received longer prison terms, and
2. If that goal is achieved, cost savings will more than offset any increased daily costs per inmate in SI (due to greater custodial demands or rehabilitative services).

Other costs also must be considered in deciding whether an SI program will cut total costs. Program dropouts and program graduates who fail on supervi-

sion and get subsequent regular prison terms add to costs. States must consider possible effects of SI on capital costs. In many cases DOC's may be able to convert existing prison space to an SI program, with only modest renovation cost. However, if a new facility must be built, construction and financing costs must be considered. Finally, through careful targeting and control of selection processes, a state may be able to reduce bedspace needs enough to reduce or forego future prison construction.

With these factors in mind, it may be helpful to examine actual annual operating costs on a state-by-state basis. In Georgia and Mississippi, officials said SI units had comparable staffing patterns and cost the same to operate as regular prison housing units. Because the programs did not offer significantly more extensive treatment or training programs than the regular prisons, there appeared to be no increased staff costs.

The following table compares staffing patterns and personnel costs for male SI programs in Georgia and Mississippi.

	Georgia		Mississippi
	Dodge CI	Burruss CI	Parchman Prison
Staff Category	Number	Number	Number
Administration	1	1	2
Program	3	3	5
Custody	8	16	6
Total Staff	**12**	**20**	**13**
Salary + Fringe	$320,729	$468,734	$279,715
Program Capacity	100	100	140

At Dodge CI the SI program is housed in two 25-bed units, with inmates double-celled. At Burruss CI inmates are housed one to a cell in four 25-bed units. Hence, there are more custody positions at Burruss. Officials at Dodge also reported that the 12 person complement originally was established for a 50-bed (single-celled) program. When the program went to double-celling, no increase in custody staffing was provided.

In New York and Oklahoma officials said their SI programs cost more to operate than regular prison housing units. Those added costs reflected larger staff complements for program services and custody. Staffing costs for Oklahoma's 145-bed SI program are shown below:

Oklahoma SI Staffing

	Total Positions	Positions Added for SI
Administration	2	0
Program Services	6	2
Custody	9	4
Total Positions	17	6
Salary + Fringe	$349,502	$129,546

These figures show only staff salaries of persons assigned to the SI unit for each of the above programs. Two other types of costs are not shown – (a) costs of institutional programs and services used by SI inmates and (b) general institutional administration and support costs.

In most programs SI inmates use services provided by regular institutional staff. In many cases, the costs are minimal or services are comparable to those given to regular inmates, e.g., medical services. In some programs, however, SI inmates make disproportionate use of institutional programs and services. For example, Oklahoma SI inmates spend four to six hours per day in education and/or vocational training provided by staff at the Lexington Assessment and Reception Center who are not assigned to the SI unit. SI inmates account for almost half the total enrolled in Lexington's vocational programs.

In a "stand-alone" SI facility, such as in New York, all institutional administration, maintenance and support costs also are costs of the SI program. We asked New York officials to report total staffing levels at their 250-bed SI facility, as well as staff positions added especially for the SI program. Those figures are shown below:

New York SI Staffing

	Positions	
	Total	Added for SI
Administrative/Support	8.5	5.0
Program Services	19.5	8.2
Custody	83.0	13.0
Total	131.0	26.2

For the 26.2 positions added for SI, NYSDOCS reports that annual salary and fringe benefit costs are $458,470. The total annual cost to operate the institution is $3,667,562. This SI adds about 12.5 percent to what it would cost to operate a 250 bed forestry camp.

Screening Procedures

Reception and Assessment

In most programs offenders enter SI after passing through a DOC reception and assessment center. While at the center, routine prison intake procedures are followed, including record checks, medical examinations, psychological and educational testing, classification screening, etc. In Georgia and South Carolina participants are admitted directly to the prison housing the SI unit, and intake work is done in a more abbreviated fashion at that institution. The more complete intake assessments done at DOC reception centers appear to be particularly useful for programs that have treatment objectives.

New York uses their reception center as a "staging area" at which those volunteering are held until a full platoon is assembled. This enables inmates to enter SI as a unit and remain together throughout the program.

Medical Screening

SI programs place substantial physical demands on inmates. Both to protect inmates and to limit the state's liability, SI programs must have thorough and effective medical screening procedures. The risks are high: already two shock incarceration inmates (in two different states) have died during physical training sessions. In both cases, the inmates collapsed during their initial exercise period after they had completed medical screening and been approved for unrestricted participation. There was no evidence of abuse or negligence in either case during the administration of physical training. Rather, the inmates had serious medical problems that were not detected by routine prison physical exams.

In addition to checking for ordinary health limitations, medical exams should be especially geared to detecting conditions common among offenders. For example, officials in all states report that a high proportion of their SI inmates have a history of drug abuse. Medical screening procedures should be especially sensitive to illnesses or conditions linked to intravenous drug use—such as hepatitis, endocarditis or advanced Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS)—which could endanger inmates required to perform strenuous physical exertion. With respect to AIDS, NYSDOCS (which has the highest incidence of AIDS among the states we studied) officials report that they exclude inmates from SI who have AIDS. They do not exclude inmates who test positive for the HIV antibody, so long as the medical evaluation concludes that participation would not endanger the inmate.

Georgia officials report that offenders sometimes will try to conceal a known medical or physical problem from the probation officer rather than face the possibility of serving a regular prison sentence. Prison medical testing, therefore, must be especially thorough.

In Oklahoma, New York and Mississippi (men's program) medical screening is done as part of routine intake at a DOC reception center. In Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi (women's program), inmates are admitted directly from court to the SI program, and medical screening is completed during the first week. Until a medical approval is issued, officials do not allow inmates to participate in work assignments or physical training.

In all states except Mississippi, if a medical condition is discovered that limits complete participation the offender is excluded from the program. Where judges control selection, the offender is returned to court, and judges usually re-sentence them to regular probation. Where DOC's control admission, medically rejected inmates serve the prison sentence originally imposed.

Mississippi's earned probation law, on which its shock incarceration program is based, does not provide affirmative authority to exclude offenders for medical conditions or physical reasons. In the past, DOC officials have not routinely excluded inmates with non-acute medical problems. Instead, they have tailored a physical regimen for each that was consistent with his or her physical limitations.

Among programs studied, only one lacked pre-admission physical exams. Given the dangers to SI participants if they are not adequately screened for medical conditions, as well as the risk of DOC liability, complete and rigorous health screening is advisable. A release from the offender, stating that he or she has revealed all known health conditions, should be included to avoid liability for conditions not diagnosed due to incomplete patient reporting.

In programs where some SI staff also participate in vigorous physical exercise with the inmates (such as in New York) stringent medical screening of applicants for such staff positions also would be prudent.

Program Environment

Location and Configuration of Living Units

As shown in Table 2-2, existing SI programs house inmates in open dormitories, single-bunked cells, and double-bunked cells. In general, correctional officials we interviewed favored either single-bunked cells or

Table 2-2
Type of Shock Incarceration Facility

Jurisdiction	Facility Houses SI Only	Facility Houses SI – General Population Segregation of SI/General Complete	Facility Houses SI – General Population Segregation of SI/General Partial	Living Units Are Barracks	Living Units Are Cells Single	Living Units Are Cells Double
Georgia		X			X (Burrus)	X (Dodge)
Oklahoma			X (male & female programs)			X (male & female programs)
Mississippi	X (male)		X (female)	X		
Orleans Parish	X (male)		X (female)	X		
Louisiana		X*		X		
South Carolina		X (male & female programs)		X (male & female programs)		
New York	X			X		
Florida		X			X	

open dormitories. In dormitories officers can observe all inmates' movements and activities continuously, while in single-cells inmates effectively are segregated whenever they are in their cells.

One veteran SI director said that a change from single to double-celling was the worst thing that had happened to his program. He argued that living in a single cell was itself punishment. It also had a therapeutic effect because it let the inmate reflect on his situation and to come to terms with his behavior. Under single-celling, lockdowns were a quick and effective way to defuse an explosive situation. Double-bunking made it impossible to enforce a rule of silence and encouraged roommates to commiserate and hatch plans, and to test the limits of staff tolerance in rule enforcement generally.

Most SI programs are located at medium security prisons that also house general population inmates. (Typically, SI inmates are classified in minimum custody status.) In these cases, there is almost complete separation of SI and general population inmates, achieved by housing SI inmates in separate secure living units, and restricting their use of shared facilities (gym, dining hall, program space, exercise yard) to times when general population inmates are absent. Most programs forbid communication between general population and SI inmates.

Three SI programs operate in facilities that house only SI inmates, including the Mississippi Regimented Inmate Discipline program for Men, the Orleans (La.) Parish About Face Program for Men, and the New York State Shock Incarceration Facility at Camp Monterey. While Mississippi's program is located at the Parchman Prison complex, it operates in a separate minimum security camp about a mile from the nearest other prison living unit. The Orleans Parish program is housed in an old hotel in a residential neighborhood about four blocks from the main Parish Prison. The New York program occupies a 250-bed forestry camp, about 20 miles north of Corning.

In Mississippi, officials house a female SI program in one bay of a four-bay open dorm at the Rankin County Correctional Institution. SI inmates share the showers and day area with trusties. SI inmates are forbidden to talk to the trusties, and stringent rules limit contact during use of the day area. Drill Instructors supervise the SI inmates at all times during two shifts; however, on the third shift they are supervised by regular custody staff. This situation produced continuing tension between the SI and general population inmates, and unevenness in rule enforcement among shifts. This, in turn, caused friction between SI and regular custody staff. In the future, Mississippi officials hope to take over one entire dormitory and add round-the-clock SI

custody staff if admissions to the women's program increase sufficiently.

Officials presumed that locating the SI program in a general population prison would have a greater deterrent effect. SI inmates would see what regular imprisonment is like and work harder to avoid it in the future. We found, however, that inmates had equally negative views of prison life whether the SI program was housed at a general population institution or a stand-alone facility.

In both types of programs, SI inmates clearly understood the benefits and potential liabilities of living in the SI unit versus in the general population. They thought that, in some ways, life in general population would be easier—e.g., no physical training, marching, etc. Yet they also understood that they would face increased threat of assault by other inmates in the general population. (Without exception, the SI inmates we interviewed said they felt safe from assaults by other inmates or staff in SI.)

While many SI inmates and graduates described some specific aspect of regular prison life they feared, the most common theme was that they feared prison because it was an uncertain, unknown quantity. They had experienced SI and knew what it was like. We asked each if they would rather do 120 days in SI or prison. All chose SI. If anything, keeping prison life a somewhat unknown quantity heightened their fear.

Additionally, SI inmates, even if not housed in a state prison, have many sources of information about the harsh realities of regular imprisonment. In local jails they may associate with fellow inmates who may have been in prison before. In New York, many SI inmates had spent several months at Riker's Island, an experience officials note may be as harrowing as state prison. In several states, SI inmates have a two to three week exposure to high security confinement while at a DOC reception center. Many SI inmates also have friends or siblings who have been in prison, from whom they have gained a good deal of information about prison life.

Finally, they get information from SI program staff. The way staff conveys information on imprisonment determines its credibility. For example, SI inmates discounted the risk of sexual abuse or assault only if they thought staff was trying to scare them by exaggeration.

The punishment an offender experiences in SI is very different in almost all ways from the one that is threatened if he or she repeats. Thus, SI's impact on deterrence is indirect, at best. Staff try to make inmates more aware of what "real" prison is like, while preserving an anxiety-producing "unknown" aura.

It may not be necessary to locate SI programs at an institution housing general population inmates in order to heighten inmates' fear of entering prison.

In considering where to locate facilities, officials likely will face a number of pragmatic concerns—availability of space, condition of existing physical plant, etc. Yet in deciding facility questions it also is important to consider issues of purpose. If a program is intended to rehabilitate, it may be necessary to locate SI where treatment programs needed by inmates are most accessible. For example, Oklahoma officials relied heavily on vocational and educational programs available at the Lexington facility. In Georgia, the Public Safety Training Academy, located adjacent to the Burruss Correctional Institution provided many construction and maintenance projects needed to keep SI inmates engaged in hard manual labor.

Duration of Program

As noted in Table 2-3, the programs studied varied in length from three to six months. Decisions as to program length were directly related to program goals. In New York, officials reported that they proposed a 6 month program because they wanted to select more serious offenders, and, for that population, a longer term in SI was more acceptable politically. If the program is intended only to affect inmates' self-esteem by means of the military-style elements, a shorter program may be used. No studies exist to suggest an "optimum" program duration to achieve that objective. At the time of our visit, Georgia officials were considering reducing their program from 90 to 60 days. They reasoned that the boot-camp aspect had its greatest impact in the first two months. In addition, the move would let them fill each SI bed six times a year rather than four—thereby expanding the program's annual capacity without adding new facilities or staff.

If rehabilitation is a high priority, a longer SI program may be needed. Educational or vocational objectives may be achieved better in a 120 to 180 day program. If a high proportion of SI inmates are drug dependent, longer durations may facilitate effective treatment. To some extent, rehabilitation objectives may be served by an effective reentry planning and transition, so that education or treatment begun in prison is continued during community supervision. If that can be done, it may be possible to cut the duration of the SI program somewhat.

Relationship of Staff to Inmates

In many SI programs incoming inmates are subjected to an initial period of intense verbal confrontation by staff. New inmates are met by drill instructors (DIs),

Table 2-3
Shock Incarceration Treatment Components

Jurisdiction	Program Length	Treatment: Drug/ Alcohol Counseling	Reality Therapy	Relaxation Therapy	Individual Counseling	Recreation Therapy	Therapeutic Community
Georgia	90 days						
Oklahoma	120 days	X	X	X	X	X	
Mississippi	90 days		X	X	X		
Orleans Parish	120 days	X			X		
Louisiana	90-180 days	X	X		X		
South Carolina	90 days	X				X	
New York	180 days	X	X		X	X	X
Florida	90-120 days	X	X	X			

are made to stand at attention, and are given a loud "tongue-lashing" that leaves no doubt as to who is in control and what the rules are. Such intense verbal confrontations generally continue and characterize staff/inmate contacts in the days immediately after inmates' admission to the program. Once an inmate shows a willingness to abide by program rules and expectations, staff generally cease such confrontive tactics.

Those who support verbal confrontation assert that SI must first break inmates down so that later phases of the program can build them up. The initial verbal confrontation is an important part of that strategy, they argue—one the military has used effectively over the years. Critics, however, have questioned both the propriety and the effectiveness of such staff conduct. They contend that it is destructive, abusive and demeaning, whereas the programs supposedly are intended to build inmates' self-esteem. Such confrontations only pander to the public's thirst for vengeance, they assert, noting that television reporters invariably devote considerable footage to such verbal confrontations.

Significantly, the military has largely abandoned verbal abuse in basic training. With the advent of the volunteer Army, many of the abusive and degrading features of basic training have been eliminated. Today, basic training is conducted in voice commands—not shouting—and practices that ridicule or demean recruits largely have been eliminated. In South Carolina's SI program, DI's are restricted to the use of voice commands.

The way SI programs structure the on-going and routine interaction between custody staff and inmates creates very different cultures among the programs. In turn, that affects how inmates and staff perceive each other and the levels of tension in the program.

In programs where staff behavior toward inmates continued to be more confrontive, and where staff made quick and frequent use of summary punishments, tension levels clearly were higher during our observations. Inmates in such programs freely voiced extreme hostility and anger toward staff. In programs where staff/inmate contacts were more positive, inmates were more at ease, and generally expressed good feelings about staff—for example, saying that they believed staff wanted them to complete the program successfully, or was there to help them.

If states want to rehabilitate via SI, and if rehabilitation is expected to occur, in part, from improved inmate self-control and self-esteem, or from staff providing positive role models for inmates, a program culture that breeds continuing tension and hostility is likely to be counterproductive. Administrators should establish tight controls that limit confrontive staff conduct and prevent overuse of summary punishments.

That does not suggest that rule enforcement needs to be lax. The rigor of rule enforcement and the quality of staff/inmate interactions are separate issues. Among the programs we visited, the ones where rules were most consistently enforced also had the most relaxed and tension-free interaction between staff and inmates. Conversely, programs in which discipline was inconsistent—for example, punishing one individual for misconduct while ignoring similar misdeeds by others—gave rise to an atmosphere which seemed dangerously explosive.

All programs have formal policies prohibiting use of

profanity. However, from observations during the site visits and interviews with staff and inmates, it was clear that in all programs many staff regularly used profanity. Inmates, however, distinguished between staff who swore before them and who swore at them—only the latter angered them.

Likewise, all programs prohibit use of racial slurs by either inmates or staff. In general these prohibitions appeared to be observed, although one program we visited had just concluded an internal investigation triggered, in part, by inmate complaints about staff use of racial slurs. That investigation resulted in the transfer of some employees to other duties at the institution.

Relationship Between SI and General Population Inmates

In most SI programs housed in prison facilities, inmates have very limited and highly supervised contact with general population inmates who serve as cooks, food handlers, launderers, etc. In most institutions these jobs are done by trusties, inmates who have earned the privilege through good behavior. Most programs prohibit SI inmates from talking to general population inmates, but some interchanges, nonetheless, occur.[5]

In some programs SI and general population inmates share use of service. For example, in Oklahoma SI inmates attend vocational training and education classes with regular inmates, most of whom are completing the final months of long-term sentences. During this mixing, no effort is made to restrict conversation between SI and general population inmates.

Some SI programs allow or even encourage general population inmates to direct verbal taunts and cat-calls (often of a threatening sexual nature) to SI inmates. Typically, taunting occurs when SI inmates are exercising or are marching in formation from one part of the prison to another and must pass within earshot of housing units or yards containing general population inmates.

Correctional administrators we interviewed had mixed reactions to taunting. Some thought taunting made the threat of sexual assault in the general population more credible to SI inmates than similar warnings issued by staff, and hence contributed to a deterrent effect. Others thought that by allowing or encouraging taunting, corrections officials became participants in an inherently abusive and demeaning practice.

Taunting had mixed effects on SI inmates. Some clearly took taunts seriously, particularly the younger and smaller inmates. Others discounted them, believing that staff planted the taunts, or that they could "take care of themselves" under any circumstances. A misguided few thought they had nothing to fear because they weren't gay.[6]

Although there was no way to measure precisely the impact of the taunting, it did not appear to be necessary or helpful to meeting deterrence goals. Those who were frightened by the taunts were already suitably frightened by prison life. Those who weren't already frightened of prisoner assault, on the other hand, did not find the taunting frightening. Inmates especially discounted taunting when they thought staff were planting or encouraging it. Additionally, while the effect on the inmates allowed to behave in a threatening manner was not measured, it seems unlikely to have a positive long-term effect on prison management.

Gender of Participants

Initially, in all states, SI was offered for men only, but by early 1988 Oklahoma, Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana and Orleans Parish operated shock incarceration programs for females, and New York was planning to offer SI for females. Officials in these jurisdictions cited a concern for equal protection as the primary reason for operating a program for women. If male offenders meeting the eligibility requirements have the opportunity to reduce the severity of their sentences by participating in SI, officials observed that female offenders must be given the same chance.

Officials in all five jurisdictions noted that the small proportion of female offenders in their systems limited the size of their SI program for women and posed both facility and staffing problems. In Louisiana male and female inmates participated in the same SI program during the day, and the women returned to their separate housing unit at night. Female as well as male drill instructors were used, with positive effects noted among both male and female inmates. New York also was considering a "coed" model, similar to Louisiana's. In all other jurisdictions, separate small SI programs were set up for female inmates.

In Oklahoma and Mississippi female SI inmates live in a unit that also houses general population female inmates. Thus, the separation of SI inmates from the general population that characterizes the male pro-

[5] During one interview an SI inmate said an inmate food server had conveyed a threat made against him by his rap-partner who was confined in a separate unit at the same prison.

[6] In one state, officials developing a new SI program decided to prohibit taunting. However, a legislator who had visited another state's program and who had spearheaded SI development, successfully pressured the DOC to reverse that position. Program staff tried to defuse taunting by having SI inmates respond with specially phrased "jodie-calls." In another state, officials reported that taunting simply declined over time as the newness of the SI program wore off.

grams was not possible. Orleans Parish achieved somewhat greater separation by locating the female shock incarceration program on a separate floor of a women's work release center.

During our site visits we observed the female SI program operated by the Mississippi DOC at its Rankin County Correctional Institution near Jackson. At the time of our visit the program had been in operation for about six months and had twelve inmates. Its highest population had been 30. Officials expected its population to increase as the pace of sentencing picked up during the courts' fall term.

During interviews the female inmates expressed much stronger and more uniformly positive feelings about shock incarceration than did the male inmates we interviewed in other SI programs. While the women spoke of all program staff in positive terms, they particularly displayed a respect for their drill instructor that bordered on reverence. It was clear he had a powerful and positive effect on the women.

Possibly, this drill instructor's strong influence was due to his own personal qualities, or to the fact that he spent approximately five times as much time in direct interaction with inmates than did the next most available staff person. Given the history of many of the inmates, however, it is worth considering whether other factors were involved. Most of the women in the Mississippi program were convicted of drug crimes, or property or violent crimes committed to obtain drugs. All previously had used and abused a variety of substances. During their criminal careers most had been involved with a man who had dominated their lives—a pimp, a drug supplier, or a ringleader of the crimes they committed. In the SI program they responded quickly and readily to yet another dominant male—the drill instructor.

In the short run, such a response clearly helps a program to operate more smoothly. However, if the women are to succeed after release they likely need to assume greater responsibility for directing their own lives. While the best methods for encouraging this growth are not yet established, it is essential to consider the options. Although obedience to authority clearly is a lesson which all inmates need, female inmates may need a program with a greater emphasis on self-responsibility. Physical challenge, accomplishment and endurance, for example, could be emphasized more strongly than regimentation. Strong female as well as male role models may need to be in constant contact with female inmates. (Such strong female role models were present in the Mississippi program—the Deputy Warden and the RID Program Director, in particular. However, they spent much less time with the female SI inmates than did the male DI.) Additionally, as was done in the Mississippi program, reality therapy can challenge the inmates to address any issues of dependency directly.

Regimentation, Physical and Disciplinary Demands

Physical Training

Most SI programs base their physical training on exercises contained in the United States Army Field Manual. The Florida DOC had Florida State University develop a physical training curriculum and obstacle course for their program. In all programs inmates may not begin in physical training until they have had a complete physical examination and are certified as fit to participate by medical staff.

Departments have developed detailed procedures governing physical training that limit the number and type of exercises and the length of the training sessions. Procedures gradually increase physical training requirements—adding more exercises and increasing the numbers of repetitions—as participants improve their conditioning and stamina. Most programs have two physical training sessions per day— one early in the morning before breakfast, and one late in the afternoon.

In Georgia, the host institution's recreation director attends physical training sessions. At the outset he teaches inmates how to do the exercises. Later, if he spots inmates who are doing them incorrectly or who are slacking off, he calls them to a drill instructor's attention. DI's themselves supervise the physical training sessions and enforce discipline.

Some programs emphasize running, while others do not. By the time inmates complete the Orleans Parish About Face program they will be able to run 12 miles in formation. Inmates in that program run each day in the residential neighborhoods surrounding their facility, and enter both competitive and fun runs in the New Orleans area. The Orleans Parish program requires inmates to quit smoking by their third week. In New York SI inmates run three to five miles a day on county roads and forest trails near their rural facility.

In the programs we observed, the physical training was no more intense than would be encountered in a well-run high school football program and slightly less intense than in real military recruit training. Indeed, inmates who had participated in competitive athletics or who had been in the military service, found the physical training relatively easy. For inmates who had been

living on beer, potato chips and cigarettes, however, physical training was a difficult experience.

SI staff described several instances in which overweight inmates experienced dramatic weight losses and underweight inmates had equally dramatic weight gains. For severely overweight inmates, medical staff sometimes prescribed a special diet, which, combined with the vigorous activity, produced rapid weight loss. In most cases, however, no special diets were provided.

Physical Labor

In all SI programs, inmates do housekeeping and maintenance tasks in their living units, including mopping and waxing floors, cutting grass, weeding flower-beds, etc. In addition, they clean their rooms and keep their clothing and possessions neatly laid out in a manner prescribed by program regulations.

Most programs also require inmates to do hard labor, such as clearing land, digging ditches, constructing walks and retaining walls, draining swamps, etc. It is done with hand tools in order to exact maximum physical effort from offenders and to occupy them for longer periods of time.

Oklahoma and Louisiana are exceptions. In those states SI inmates participate in vocational, educational or treatment programs during hours that other programs require hard labor.[7]

At its inception Mississippi's program did not require inmates to perform hard labor. However, officials recently added four hours of hard labor per day on the prison farm in order to eliminate periods of idle time.

The hard labor often involves projects on the grounds of the host prison, or at a nearby correctional institution or other state facility. New York's program is adjacent to a large tract of state conservation land, on which SI inmates plant trees, build trails, cut firebreaks, etc. At Georgia's Burruss Correctional Institution SI inmates do labor-intensive construction and maintenance projects for the Georgia Public Safety Training Academy, which is located on the same tract of state land. Georgia inmates also do community service projects, such as painting schools, for local governments within convenient transportation distance from the SI program.

In our observations of SI work details in Georgia and New York, the jobs assigned and the levels of effort required from the inmates appeared to be no more rigorous than would be experienced by a typical construction laborer.

In all cases, SI staff supervise inmates during hard labor. In Georgia, 20 to 25 inmates working outside the institution's security perimeter are supervised by one officer armed with a shotgun (loaded, we were told, with birdshot). However, when Georgia inmates do community service work, staff do not carry weapons. In other states, staff supervising inmates working off the prison grounds are not armed. Staff supervising work details typically carried a two-way radio, enabling them to request back-up support if necessary. None of the states we visited had experienced inmate escapes from work details.

During our observations, armed staff in Georgia interacted less with inmates during work assignments. They kept a substantial distance away from the inmates. Unarmed staff, on the other hand, were physically closer to the inmates, better able to observe infractions and enforce rules, and to instruct inmates in job performance.

In Georgia's SI programs inmates are prohibited from talking during work assignments. Our observations suggest that the enforcement of that rule is less than complete. Detail officers generally overlooked quiet conversation among two or three inmates, but broke up louder talk or conversation among larger groups.

Officials report that SI inmates work much harder than general population inmates. The Warden at Georgia's Burruss Correctional Institution said he got four times as much work out of his 100 SI inmates as he did from the other 200 inmates in his prison. Officials noted that SI inmates have a strong incentive to remain in and complete the program, whereas, general population inmates have little to lose if they refuse to do a job or work at a snail's pace. General population inmates view working hard as cooperation with "the Man", but SI inmates have not yet been socialized into the inmate code.

When weather conditions are extreme, work detail supervisors must avoid exposing inmates to danger. Clear policies should be set linking work requirements to weather conditions. Georgia requires that the number and length of breaks, and the inmate's consumption of liquids and salt tablets must increase as the temperature and humidity go up. Most states prohibit outside work details if weather conditions are too harsh. Likewise, policies require terminating a work detail and moving inmates to a safe place if a storm develops during a work assignment.

Inmates should be properly dressed to protect against weather conditions. Georgia and Mississippi inmates

[7] However, Oklahoma SI inmates have provided emergency assistance to local communities. For example, during a recent flood Oklahoma's SI inmates spent several days helping volunteers with sandbagging in the nearby town of Lexington.

must wear shirts and hats during the summer to protect against sunburn and heat exhaustion. In New York, inmates are issued a variety of heavy winter clothing suitable for all likely conditions. Staff supervising work details must assure that inmates are properly attired for existing weather conditions.

Regulations

All programs have regulations that prescribe in minute detail how almost all aspects of communication, speech, movement, dress, eating and hygiene are to be done. Inmates must be properly attired at all times. Their hair must be closely trimmed as prescribed in rules. Their personal belongings and clothing must be arranged in their locker as prescribed in rules. Inmates must begin and end any statement to staff with "Sir". Inmates must come to attention when a staff member or visitor approaches and remain at attention until given permission to carry on. When passing by any staff or visitor the inmate must say "Sir, by your leave, Sir." When a visitor enters the compound, SI inmates double-time to their cells or bunks and stand at attention for inspection.

In most programs, movement in the dining hall is rigorously defined in rules. Inmates march to the dining room entrance and stand at parade rest until the line moves forward. They snap to attention, take one or two steps forward, and return to a parade rest position until more space is available. Upon being served their food, the inmates march forward, holding their tray in both hands and making precise military turns until they come to the first empty table. They place their food on the table and stand at attention until enough inmates are present to fill the table, at which point staff give them a command to sit. The inmates respond in unison "Sir, Thank You, Sir!" and take their seats. They eat in silence. When all at a table have finished eating, staff will give them permission to leave. The inmates rise in unison, march crisply to where they return their trays, and march to a line where they stand at parade rest until all have eaten. Upon command, they snap to attention and march to their housing unit.

Obedience to rules continually reinforces the inmates submission to authority. By learning to obey such detailed rules, offenders are presumed to gain a sense of esteem and competency in handling tedious and difficult challenges. Some programs term this "discipline therapy".

The programs we observed varied in the consistency with which rules were enforced. Where rules were less consistently enforced, it appeared inmates were more prone to test the limits of enforcement. Confrontations with staff seemed more numerous and overall tension levels seemed higher. Where rule enforcement was consistent, inmates seemed less prone to test their limits, confrontations were less evident, and tension levels seemed lower.

Program Expulsions

All programs remove inmates who are convicted of major misconducts (assaulting staff, possession of a weapon, etc.) as defined in the department's disciplinary plan. In such cases, convictions are obtained under regular due process disciplinary procedures.

Programs vary, however, in their tolerance for less serious inmate misconduct. Some report that an inmate's initial mid-level misconduct conviction is punished by internal disciplinary sanctions; however, a second conviction likely will result in removal. Others are more likely to retain inmates convicted of second or subsequent mid-level misconducts. In the programs we visited expulsion rates varied from five to twenty percent.

Oklahoma's policy of not giving SI participants an "easy out" from the program (discussed in Section B.3. above) applies to expulsion as well as withdrawal. Officials avoid explusion whenever possible, using segregation within the SI unit as a sanction for some repeat mid-level misconducts. Inmates who continue to commit mid-level misconducts can expect to spend extended periods in segregation. By keeping such offenders in the program officials believe they force inmates to come to terms with their behavior and motivate them to alter it. In all programs major and mid-level misconduct convictions are obtained under the departments' regular disciplinary processes.

In most programs participants are monitored to determine if their performance merits keeping them in the program. In most SI programs inmates are graded daily by all staff who have contact with them—counselors, teachers, DI's, and work detail supervisors. In some programs numerical scores are assigned, while others simply assign a plus or minus to a score of criteria. At the end of each day, each inmates' scores are collected, and are totaled at week's end. Thus staff get an overview of each inmates' performance every week from different staff members viewpoints. Disciplinary reports also are factored into the weekly scoring.

Some programs require inmates to achieve and maintain passing scores in all areas to remain in the program. Others select those with low scores for special counseling. Georgia officials recently began an evening group counseling session for low-scoring inmates at Burruss Correctional Institution in order to cut the rate of expulsions. In New York, inmates who score low for two or more weeks must appear individually before

a committee consisting of the custody supervisor, the institutional parole officer, and the head of treatment. The inmate must stand at attention while staff recite his short-comings, quiz him on reasons for his lack of effort or misdeeds, exhort him to improve, and threaten him with removal from the program if he does not.

The use of such grading systems does two important things. First, it makes it clear to the inmate that everything he or she does each day is being scrutinized and assessed. Secondly, for inmates who begin to misbehave, it provides relatively quick feedback, so that problems can be caught before they threaten the inmate's continuation in the program.

In terms of molding offender behavior, consistency and accountability in expulsion practices are important factors. The offender learns that his or her actions have clear, well defined consequences: that appropriate self-control will be rewarded and inappropriate behavior punished.

If reducing overcrowding is a goal, lower expulsion and withdrawal rates may be essential. If an SI participant begins the program, only to withdraw or be expelled, he or she may well return to prison to serve a longer term sentence. Program resources, including bed space, have been wasted. To avoid this dilemma, states would be wise to consider policies calculated to avoiding unnecessary expulsion and/or withdrawal.

Drill and Ceremony

Inmates spend relatively little time in drill and ceremony—in most programs, an hour or two a day. Emphasis on drill and ceremony varies considerably among the programs. In some, marching is merely a way to get inmates from point to point quickly and *en masse*. At Georgia's Dodge Correctional Institution staff refer to such movement as the "Dodge Shuffle". They do not stress precision drill because they want to emphasize that inmates are prisoners, not military recruits. Other programs, including the one at Georgia's Burruss Correctional Institution, require inmates to learn more intricate marching and facing maneuvers.

Some programs promote *esprit de corps* by injecting competition into drill and ceremony. In New York new platoons arrive monthly and remain together throughout their six-month stay. All platoons drill at once in a central yard, and there is considerable effort, particularly among the more veteran platoons, to outdo one another. In Mississippi inmates are placed in beginner, intermediate, or advanced platoons, based on their skill in drill and ceremony. In Oklahoma, inmates who excel sometimes are taken to nearby communities to march in parades and civic celebrations. In programs that emphasize competition and *esprit de corps*, inmates devise colorful "jodie calls" to provide cadence. Both Georgia programs de-emphasize *esprit de corps* and have no competition among inmates in drill and ceremony.

In Georgia, SI staff lead inmates in drill and ceremony. In the other programs, inmate platoon leaders are assigned by staff or selected by their fellow inmates, and lead platoons in drill and ceremony after staff have taught the platoons to perform the required movements.

SI drill instructors often had served in different branches of the military, wherein drill and ceremony was conducted somewhat differently. In New York, these differences prompted NYSDOCS to seek technical assistance from military officials to devise uniform drill and ceremony movements, commands and cadences.

In most SI programs, custody staff dress in military clothing. DI's wear crisply-pressed fatigues, spit-shined boots, and military-type hats. In such programs, inmates often wear similar (though usually ill-fitting and rumpled) military-style clothing. In Oklahoma and Georgia custody staff wear regular correctional officer uniforms and inmates dress in standard prison-issue clothing. Officials in both states decided against military dress because they wanted to emphasize to inmates that this was, after all, prison, not a boot camp.

Summary Punishment

All programs let SI staff impose summary punishments for certain minor disciplinary infractions. Summary punishments are determined on-the-spot by the officer observing the infraction, without benefit of usual due process protections. Some may be carried out quickly (such as immediately making the inmate do push-ups or stand at attention facing a wall) while others may be imposed later (for example, extra duty assignments that take place during free periods).

The use of summary punishments could erode procedural protections in prison disciplinary proceedings established slowly over the past two decades. It vests great power in staff and carries great potential for abuse. For example, in one state SI staff made an inmate stand at attention for two hours in the summer sun, bare-headed shortly after getting an extremely short haircut. He suffered second-degree burns on his scalp and was hospitalized for several days.

Officials we interviewed suggested that inmates waive their rights to due process disciplinary proceedings when they volunteer to be in the program. Yet, none of the volunteer forms we examined contained an explicit waiver of rights in disciplinary proceedings.Also,

one may question the "voluntariness" of such an implied waiver because of the pressure inmates face to enter the program in order to avoid a long prison term.

Most regular prison disciplinary plans permit informal resolution of minor misconducts in ways that by-pass more formalized due process protections. In such cases the sanction imposed by the correctional officer may consist of a verbal reprimand, a violation report entered in the offender's file, or referral to a custody supervisor for counseling.

Summary punishments in SI programs are different in nature and scope. They may be physical in nature or may involve extra duty assignments or loss of certain privileges. Sometimes a group of inmates are punished summarily for the misconduct of one. In most states' disciplinary systems, the kinds of summary punishments used in SI programs could be inflicted on general population inmates only after a conviction by a due process prison disciplinary hearing. Some of the summary punishments used in SI—such as physical exercises—simply are not available under the regular prison disciplinary code.

Some officials noted that summary punishment was an important part of SI's disciplined regimen. However, one official cautioned it had a detrimental effect on his staff. It attracted applicants who saw SI as a way to "get even" with inmates, or who were on a "power trip". Another said summary punishments, especially those of a physical nature, had an addictive effect: the more staff used them, the more they came to rely on them, invoking them too quickly and inappropriately. Overuse of summary punishments can set a program on a downward spiral in which increased tension leads to more misconduct, and greater use of summary punishments that produces still higher tension levels.

Policies should place strict limits on the use of summary punishments to prevent abuse, injury, and liability. Of course, dangerous punishments should be prohibited entirely, and staff who inflict them should be disciplined severely or terminated. Use of extra exercises or running as a physical punishment should be carefully controlled. For example, in Georgia an officer may not require an offender to do more than 10 repetitions of an exercise as a summary punishment.Officials in several programs said they preferred to use extra duty assignments as summary punishment rather than push-ups or other exercises. That reduced the likelihood of injury and possible liability. It also defused situations by deferring imposition of punishments and making it less direct and confrontive.

In all states staff issuing a summary punishment must make a written record of the incident and the punishment imposed, which is reviewed periodically by supervisors or program directors. If a supervisor thinks a staff member is issuing too many summary punishments, they take corrective action.

Rehabilitation Components

Some critics suggest that shock incarceration caters to the public's desire for a quick and simplistic cure-all for crime. They assert that unless SI programs deal with basic needs and problems known to be linked to offenders' criminal conduct—such as substance abuse, illiteracy, lack of job skills, and dysfunctional value systems— positive effects, if any, likely will be short-lived. Some SI programs have made aggressive efforts to deal with those needs and problems, while others have not.

Even if rehabilitation is not an explicit program purpose, officials may decide that it is prudent to incorporate traditional treatment components. For example, NYSDOCS' primary objective for SI was to cut prison crowding. Officials reasoned that immediate population reductions (due to shorter terms served by SI inmates) could be eroded if a high proportion of SI graduates later returned to prison with new crimes or technical violations. Thus, dealing with inmate needs and problems linked to their criminality has become an important part of a long-term population management strategy.

Table 2-3 (page 19) displays treatment components of existing shock incarceration programs.

Education

The Georgia and Mississippi SI programs offer no adult basic education component. Officials there argue that it is unrealistic to try to overcome years of educational failure and deficiency in three to four months. Other programs, however, have devoted considerable time and resources to improving inmates' education levels, some with notable success.

In Oklahoma's 120 day program all SI inmates who do not have a high school diploma must spend at least three hours a day in adult basic education classes. If they pass their GED exam, they may enroll in vocational training programs during their time remaining. In South Carolina (a 90 day program) inmates spend two hours a day in educational programs and at least one additional hour doing homework. In New York (a 180 day program) all inmates attend educational classes at least two hours per day and spend additional time doing homework. Oklahoma and South Carolina report success in remedial education; for example, in one recent 32-man platoon in South Carolina, 22 inmates took the GED exam, and 15 passed it. Oklahoma often requires continued remedial education as a con-

dition of release for SI graduates who did not get their GED while in prison.

All SI programs give inmates basic instruction in health, with special emphasis on sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDS. Almost all also offer a substance abuse education course, designed to acquaint inmates with the physical and social effects of substance abuse, to explore the sources of their own drug involvement, and to examine alternative ways of dealing with their problems.

Vocational Education and Assessment

None of the programs enable inmates to complete a vocational education program. Some are located at institutions that do not have such programs. Where vocational courses are available, they usually are much longer than the SI program's duration.

In Oklahoma, vocational assessment is regular part of the SI program. Oklahoma's Lexington Assessment and Reception Center has a well-developed vocational education program operated by the Department of Vocational and Technical Education. It offers courses in automobile mechanics, industrial building maintenance, building trades (plumbing, carpentry, and electrical work) and cabinet making for general population inmates. The Department of Vocational and Technical Education developed a special two-week vocational assessment course which all SI inmates must complete. The course begins with a three-day battery of educational and vocational aptitude tests. For the next seven days SI inmates then are assigned to different work stations, which let them practice basic skills involved in a variety of trades. For example, at the masonry work station, a team of SI inmates, working under supervision of an instructor, must layout and construct a concrete block wall. While the work stations teach some fundamental skills, their main purpose is to let instructors assess inmates' motor skills, coordination, computational ability, form perception, frustration tolerance, and ability to improve with repetition. The results of the vocational assessment are used in developing the offender's reentry plan.

If an inmate has a high school diploma, he may begin one of the vocational education programs offered at Lexington during the balance of his stay. If not, the inmate must first attend education classes and complete a GED. Inmates who begin a vocational course at Lexington may transfer to one of the Department of Vocational and Technical Education's "free world" programs upon release to complete it.

Life Skills Training

Most SI programs have a life-skills training component that helps inmates perform successfully a variety of tasks and skills they will face daily in the free world. Topics covered include how to find job leads, fill out employment applications, prepare resumes, and how to prepare for and respond during a job interview. Such programs also include information on social programs and benefits available to ex-inmates and how to apply for them, sources of counseling and assistance in the community, and instruction in budgeting and money management.

Treatment

The Georgia SI programs do not have specific treatment components. The other programs we visited, and most of those currently operating, offer a variety of treatment programs.

Drug and Alcohol

SI programs in six states have some form of drug and alcohol treatment, most often based on principles of Alcoholics Anonymous. New York has a more extensive Alcohol and Substance Abuse Treatment (ASAT) program which all inmates with identified drug and alcohol problems must attend. ASAT combines elements of behavioral modification, drug education, and AA/NA philosophies. It includes individual and group counseling and development of individualized treatment plans.

Reality Therapy

Reality Therapy is offered in SI programs in five states. It emphasizes direct teaching of information relating to formulating non-criminal values, dealing with irrational patterns of thought, setting and attaining rational goals, and defining and coping with reality. While small group discussions often are used, the approach usually entails more structured presentations to larger groups. Officials report it is well suited to SI because it can be provided in a structured manner within the programs' short time frames.

Therapeutic Community

New York's program includes a therapeutic community, which it terms Network. It's objectives are to increase inmates' self responsibility, to make them realize their responsibilities to others, and to help them understand the relationship between their attitudes and their behaviors. Each platoon forms a therapeutic community which functions throughout their stay in SI.

Relaxation Therapy

Relaxation therapy is offered in SI programs in three states. It teaches inmates to cope with stress in positive rather than dysfunctional ways. Some officials suggest that relaxation therapy is justified solely in terms of improving inmates' post-release behavior. Others note that it is needed to help inmates deal with the stress imposed by the SI program regimen itself.

Staffing

Recruitment and Screening

With the exception of drill instructors (DI), staff positions in SI programs are similar to those in many prison units, and administrators report that recruiting staff for those positions does not pose new or unusual problems. However, several issues have arisen with respect to filling the DI positions.

While the exact nature of the duties varies from program to program, the position of drill instructor is unique. In addition to being thoroughly competent in institutional security procedures, the DI must be able to instruct inmates effectively in drill and ceremony, lead them in physical training, and enforce rigid discipline (including, in many programs, determining when and what type of summary punishments to inflict for minor misconduct infractions). He or she may also function as a counselor, mentor, and role model.

The Orleans Parish Criminal Sheriff's Department at first hired retired military drill instructors to staff its shock incarceration program. However, those persons left the program rather quickly. Staff attribute their departure to several factors. The Department's pay scale was not competitive with private sector jobs for which they were qualified. In addition, retired DI's quickly discovered that working with inmates was a very different and less satisfying experience than working with military recruits. Orleans Parish officials now recruit DI's from the ranks of existing staff at the Parish prison.

That is, indeed, the approach presently taken by all existing programs. Each has filled its SI custody slots by advertising the positions within its corrections agency and inviting existing staff to apply. In most cases, particularly in bigger departments, the pool of applicants has been large enough to fill and maintain the SI custody positions. Smaller agencies, however, report difficulty in recruiting enough qualified persons from within the ranks of existing staff. Some jurisdictions recruit only from within the institution that houses the SI program. Others, like Florida and Georgia, open recruitment to employees in other facilities if they are willing to transfer to the SI institution.

Officials in one state reported that SI had become a source of rivalry and friction among custody staff at the host institution. They noted that prison custody staff think SI is an "elite" assignment. Over time a sizeable group of disaffected custody staff emerged from two sources. Some had applied for SI positions but were screened out. Some had been transferred out of SI due to problems with their job performance. The friction did not cause serious problems for the institution or the SI program, but administrators had to deal with it as one more source of discontent.

Officials we interviewed often described impressionistic rather than objective criteria they consider when screening applicants for DI positions. They thought personal qualities, rather than specific skills and experiences, were most important in selection decisions. Most thought military experience was helpful, but not essential, because an otherwise qualified applicant could be taught to lead a platoon in drill. Officials said they looked for persons who understood and agreed with the purposes of the program. One said he looked for people who could be both a stern disciplinarian and sympathetic counselor—who could "pat and chew" at the same time— and could be aloof without being cold. Some said they screened out persons with "head-knocking" attitudes.

Some more objective screening criteria did emerge during our interviews. Given the potential for SI staff to abuse inmates, most said they screened out applicants whose personnel records suggested they were quick to resort to force in dealing with inmates, or who had issued excessive numbers of disciplinary reports in past assignments. Some said they rejected applicants whose record of job performance suffered due to personal problems. Officials emphasized that SI custody positions are high-stress assignments, and that applicants should be rejected who have demonstrated an inability to cope with such pressures in the past. Finally, officials said they looked for candidates who had experienced discipline and knew how to enforce it.

The New York State Department of Correctional Services (NYSDOCS) faced unique problems when it opened its shock incarceration program. First, it converted an entire existing institution to shock incarceration. Second, it had to work with a strong employees' union. The net effect was that NYSDOCS gave existing staff at Camp Monterey the option of continuing in the new program. Most chose to stay, although some transferred and a few took early retirement. Because NYSDOCS expanded the size of the camp (and thus added 26 staff positions) it did recruit some staff from other institutions. However, the majority of staff at

Camp Monterey did not "volunteer" for SI duty in the same sense as did staff in other states. This required NYSDOCS to plan and deliver a thorough and ambitious staff training program.

Training

New York developed and implemented a unique pre-service training program for its SI staff. NYSDOCS closed Camp Monterey before the SI program was implemented, transferring all inmates to other institutions. Thereafter, all employees who would work at the new program—including the superintendent, counselors, correctional officers, and even clerical employees—completed two two-week training sessions. The first session was a hands-on experience with the military component of the program. Employees participated in the same regimen of physical training, drill and ceremony, and military discipline which inmates later would experience. The second two-week session focused on intensive training in the program and treatment components of the SI program. Florida held a similar, though less extensive, pre-service training program for employees in its new SI program.

While training programs containing an intense physical regimen may be helpful in preparing staff to lead SI programs, certain precautions should be observed. Medical screening is at least as important for staff members as for inmates: staff members may be older than inmates (making health risks greater), and may have more resources available to seek legal redress if injured in a training program. A staff member who does not pass the medical screening should be excused from the physical component of training, but—in accordance with laws against handicap discrimination—should not be excluded from any job which he or she is qualified and capable to perform.

All SI programs interviewed reported difficulty in providing adequate in-service training and training for replacement staff. Many programs are sparsely staffed to begin with, and thus it is difficult to free up time for formal pre-service training for new staff. None of the programs we visited had developed formal in-service training programs.

Control and Supervision

Shock Incarceration programs carry strong potential for staff abuse of inmates. To prevent abuse, departments offering SI programs have developed manuals, which set forth procedures governing all aspects of the program, specify standards for staff behavior, and define the scope and limits of staff conduct.

Written procedures, however, provide only a foundation to prevent staff excesses. Unless those procedures are vigorously enforced by supervisors, slippage may occur. Officials at every level in the program's chain of command bear special responsibility for enforcing adherence to written rules and procedures by subordinates. If breakdowns in enforcement occur at supervisory levels, the entire program can quickly deteriorate. In one program we visited, the custody supervisor recently had been removed, following a rash of inmate complaints of abuse (mostly of a minor nature) by custody staff. In its investigation of the complaints, the DOC found that the supervisor had condoned and tacitly approved fairly widespread actions by staff that violated formal policy.

Job Stress and Turnover

Some officials we interviewed said turnover among custody staff positions was no higher than among similar positions throughout the institution or department, and stemmed from the same basic problems—low pay, poor working conditions, etc. Most officials, however, said SI suffered from higher turnover rates.

They thought job stress was much greater for SI staff than for persons in regular custody assignments. Eventually that stress caused burnout and staff either moved (or requested a transfer) back to their prior assignments, or left corrections altogether. One official said their turnover problem was aggravated by the small size of their recruitment pool, which resulted in an overall lower quality of personnel than was desirable. In a few cases turnover was heightened by the termination or transfer of SI custody staff who had violated policies (usually governing use of force).

They also thought that job stress contributed to staff misconduct and abuse of inmates. Officials said that program directors continuously must scrutinize staff performance for signs of burnout, and should intervene, if possible, before misconduct or abuse occurs. Oklahoma has an unofficial policy of rotating individual custody staff out of the program after four to six months, and replacing them with other custody officers from the main institution. While that practice limits burnout, it increases time spent training and breaking-in new staff. Some programs provide relaxation therapy for staff as well as for inmates. Staff members reported high levels of burnout in programs that involved the most intense and continuing verbal confrontation between staff and inmates. Apparently, such interactions were stressful both for the inmates confronted and the staff doing the confronting.

New York's SI program faces unique problems in coping with turnover. Unlike others, it operates in a

forestry camp, almost thirty-five miles from the nearest institution. There is no pool of replacement staff close by. Staff who transfer to the camp probably will have to relocate their families. NYSDOCS officials hope to reduce staff turnover through a well developed pre-service training program, and by an aggressive staff assistance program.

Transition to the Community

Reentry Planning

All programs provide some form of reentry planning at the SI facility. However, its extensiveness and linkage to field services varies considerably.

In Georgia, reentry planning is constrained by judicial sentencing practices. Shock incarceration is a probation sentence in Georgia, so there is no need to re-sentence offenders to community supervision when they complete the program. When judges first sentence offenders to SI they set the conditions of probation that will apply after release. Generally, when inmates complete shock incarceration, no additional judicial hearings are held; offenders merely transfer to probation supervision. A separate hearing would be needed to change conditions of probation, and judges are not inclined to hold extra hearings unless absolutely necessary. Therefore, reentry planning in Georgia generally is limited to factors consistent with standard supervision conditions, or any special condition established in the original sentence.

In Mississippi, the link between SI program and field services staff has been problematic. Probation officers noted that SI reentry plans were vague and prepared without their involvement. Often they consisted of boilerplate language or had conditions checked off on form letters.

In addition, Mississippi originally had a cadre of community volunteers that SI staff recruited and assigned to program graduates. Volunteers and program graduates were to meet at least twice a month (more often if they chose). The volunteer was to be a combination of friend, advocate, and mentor. In addition, the volunteer completed a form each month containing information on the offender's adjustment, and mailed it to the program staff. Staff assessed the form to determine if the offender's performance was slipping. If so, staff contacted the offender's probation officer and suggested an intervention.

The concept of a community volunteer or sponsor has merit and has been used with apparent success during reentry from some institutional treatment programs. However its implementation in Mississippi created problems. Probation officers complained that they often did not know the identity of community volunteers assigned to their probationers or the nature of their responsibilities. In some cases probation officers and volunteers imposed conflicting expectations on probationers. SI staff were tardy in their assignment of volunteers and sporadic in provision of feedback to probation officers. Finally, DOC officials were concerned about liability issues stemming from the use of community volunteers. At the time of our visit, Mississippi officials were considering dropping the community volunteer concept entirely.

Oklahoma invests considerable effort and resources in reentry planning and has developed strong cooperation between institution and field services staff in implementing reentry plans. As noted earlier, Oklahoma developed SI to provide a focused program to occupy young non-violent offenders who had never been in prison before while the DOC prepared re-sentencing plans, which the DOC has termed Special Offender Accountability Plans (SOAP).

The DOC has a 17 person staff devoted to developing SOAP plans, one stationed at the Lexington Assessment and Reception Center (LARC), and 16 stationed in regional field services offices around the state. These SOAP staff provide a direct link between the SI program and field services staff in preparing a community reentry plan. They integrate the results of diagnostic testing done at the Reception Center, assessments by SI staff and case managers, recommendations by vocational and educational staff at LARC and resources available in the community.

Community Supervision

In most programs, SI graduates return to the community under an enhanced form of supervision. Requirements of intensive supervision vary from state to state, but in six programs, SI graduates get levels of supervision termed intensive. In Georgia and Mississippi, however, regular probation classification procedures are used to determine supervision levels for SI graduates. Thus some initially may get minimum while others may get medium, maximum or intensive supervision. Table 2-4 displays SI community supervision requirements.

Oklahoma provides the most stringent supervision of SI graduates. If judges re-sentence SI graduates to probation, they are placed on intensive supervision. After five months of successful adjustment, they may be reclassified to lower supervision levels.

However, judges do not re-sentence approximately two-thirds of Oklahoma's SI graduates. In these cases

Table 2-4
Type of Supervision upon Release

Jurisdiction	Release On	Type & Duration Of Initial Supervision	Average Number Of Contacts Per Month Initial Supervision	Other
Georgia	Probation	Regular (set by judge)	2	
Oklahoma	Probation, community custody	Intensive 12 months (average)	4	May require 6 months in residential Work Release center, curfew
Mississippi	Probation	Regular (balance of sentence)	4	Requires 60 days at Community Service residential center; may require community volunteer.
Orleans Parish	Parole	Regular	determined by Parole Board	
Louisiana	Parole	Intensive	12	Curfew, drug testing, community service, job
South Carolina	Probation	Intensive (3 months)	4	Must have job
New York	Parole	(Undetermined as of 1/1/88)		
Florida	Probation	Intensive	Varies	Must have job

the DOC affects their release administratively, by using a "community custody" classification. Under this procedure, SI graduates legally are prison inmates, but they serve the balance of their prison term in a community setting, supervised not by probation officers, but by correctional officers assigned to community duty.

Those released on community custody are subject to especially stringent conditions. Many are required to reside for several months at a community residential center. Afterward, they typically serve a period of home detention. For the remainder of their sentence they are on intensive supervision.[8]

Adjustment Upon Supervision

Probation officers report that SI graduates make better probationers. In Oklahoma, Georgia, and Mississippi, we interviewed field services officers who supervised both regular probationers and SI graduates.[9]

All said SI graduates were easier to supervise than offenders on their regular caseload. At the beginning of their supervision, officers said SI graduates stood at attention until told to take a seat, they addressed the officer as "Sir", and generally displayed a highly controlled, disciplined, and courteous demeanor.

Those external effects faded over time, more or less quickly depending on the individual graduate. But probation officers thought other effects were more permanent and significant. They said SI graduates were more likely to obey instructions, to keep appointments, and to seek, obtain and maintain employment.

We also interviewed about thirty SI graduates who currently were on community supervision in those three

[8] Oklahoma has determinate prison terms. Most SI graduates released via community custody serve about 18 months before their sentences expire.

[9] At the time of our site visit, no inmates had yet completed the New York program.

states. Some had been out of SI only a few days; most had been out several months; a few had been released from SI over two years ago. We did not interview graduates who failed on supervision (either with a revocation or a new offense) and who had been returned to prison. In each state those persons were scattered in a variety of institutions, and we could not extend our study in order to interview them.

In general, SI graduates on probation had positive feelings about their experiences in the program. Most had not experienced strong discipline in the past, and expressed satisfaction in their ability to accept the programs' rigor without lashing out. Most thought they were more in control of their behavior now than before SI.

Many had what appeared to be a genuine respect for certain staff they encountered in SI. Several said they had corresponded with SI staff after leaving. One even said he would like to go back to the SI program to visit staff and see how things were going.

Assessment of Reentry Supervision

Table 2-4 summarizes community supervision levels for SI graduates. Most programs require an enhanced level of supervision. The type of reentry used for SI graduates should depend on the programs' purposes and the types of offenders selected for participation.

Intensive supervision is a scarce resource whose use should be governed by rational policy. The concept of risk management provides a framework for developing such rational policy. It is a way of achieving a public protection purpose in the use of community supervision.

Under a risk management strategy, SI eligibility criteria and selection processes should be based, in large measure, on indicators of offender risk. SI programs themselves would be designed to alter conditions objectively related to offender risk. Likewise the intensity and quality of reentry supervision should be keyed to objectively determined risk criteria.

Given the way most current SI programs select participants, there is little reason to expect that SI inmates and graduates are more likely to fail on supervision than others. If that is the case, routinely placing them on intensive supervision consumes limited resources that could be reserved for higher risk offenders. New York may be an exception. NYSDOCS officials report that a high proportion of those admitted to SI have characteristics associated with increased risk of failure, such as chronic drug involvement, long prior records, and several prior (local) confinements. Thus, in New York intensive supervision of SI graduates may be a rational use of resources.

Some form of intensive supervision or assistance for SI graduates might be justified if the SI experience itself increased offender's probability of failure. Of course, such a long-term effect would be a fundamental indictment of the SI concept and a powerful argument against its future use.

It is possible that SI could produce a short-term period of increased risk of failure, which declines quickly. Some believe that SI builds tension and stress within inmates and that if support is withdrawn too quickly, they are likely to explode the first time someone angers them in the community. Thus, graduates may need a decompression period in which controls are relaxed, but not removed totally. In its restructured program, for example, Mississippi will require SI graduates to reside in a residential community service center for 60 days before going to regular probation supervision. Discipline there will be strong but less intense than at SI.

The notion that participants leave SI ready to explode was not confirmed in our interviews. Those at early stages of the program often did express feelings of pent-up anger and tension. However, attitudes of those near completion of SI were considerably more mellow. They realized that they had the ability to complete a difficult and demanding regimen, and their sense of frustration and anger subsided. Graduates we interviewed soon after release likewise said they did not feel any pent-up aggression or anger when they were released. Most said they had experienced such feelings at some point during the program, but said that they vanished before release. Probation and parole officers we interviewed uniformly said SI graduates displayed better initial adjustment and stability than offenders on their regular caseloads.

Thus, unless SI programs specifically recruit high-risk offenders, there may be little need for intensive supervision for graduates. If an SI target population has demonstrable needs that are particularly serious or pronounced, it may be desirable to provide enhanced services to them upon release. That need not be done, necessarily, in an intensive supervision context.

Chapter 3: ADVICE TO POLICY MAKERS

Correctional officials may reap short-term benefits by being identified with highly popular programs. However, when decisions to develop programs are made more on the basis of fad rather than hard facts about impact, the long-term costs may be high. If officials later discover that a highly-touted program has failed to meet expectations (or, worse, has been counter-productive), they lose credibility and their future program development efforts may be handicapped. As experience with Scared Straight has shown (see Appendix A), when public and political support for a program reaches a critical threshold, it becomes very difficult, if not impossible, to modify or abandon it—even if there is solid evidence that it does more harm than good.

Shock Incarceration has a strong appeal to criminal justice officials, politicians, and the public. The media conveys images of SI that appeal to gut-level desires to reek vengeance on criminals—even if the programs being portrayed are explicitly and primarily rehabilitation-oriented. In many states powerful criminal justice interests have coalesced quickly in support of SI, thereby seizing leadership on the content and timing of program development decisions. Unless correctional leaders are prepared to enter policy debates on SI at an early stage, they could lose their ability to influence outcomes.

The first question in policy debates is whether SI should be implemented or rejected. If the decision is to implement SI, other questions must be answered to refine SI purposes, configuration, and operation.

Deciding Whether or Not to Develop an SI Program

Correctional leaders should take an active role in policy debates on the potential promise and problems of shock incarceration. Close collaboration between correctional practitioners and researchers is especially important when policy decisions about new programs like shock incarceration are about to be made. By involving researchers early, practitioners can assure that policymakers' decisions are informed by the best and most current available research findings on SI and other relevant programs.

At present, we don't know enough about SI to make an unequivocal recommendation about whether states should or should not develop shock incarceration programs. We don't know whether SI changes offenders' attitudes, or whether it deters or rehabilitates more or less effectively than other institutional or community-based sentencing options. We don't know if SI is more effective for some offenders than for others. We don't know if some elements of SI programs are linked to participants' positive or negative outcomes.

The National Institute of Justice has recognized the need to inform future policy decisions, and has taken steps to encourage evaluation of SI programs. NIJ has funded a rigorous evaluation of the Louisiana IMPACT incarceration program. In addition, NIJ and researchers involved in the Louisiana program are working with officials in other SI states to develop a generalized evaluation design which will be implemented in at least five jurisdictions.

Clearly, if officials want to base their decisions to develop or reject SI on emerging empirical evidence about its impact and effectiveness, they should defer consideration of program development until preliminary evaluation findings begin to appear.

However, if political events force officials to make the "development/no development" decision before then, it is important that policy debates focus on the purposes to be served by shock incarceration. Officials should openly discuss goals and make a clear choice, or, if there are multiple goals, state a clear priority among them.

Officials also should define how those goals are to be achieved—that is, there should be a direct and plausible connection between what SI is supposed to do and key program components. For example, if rehabilitation is the primary goal, do officials expect it to be accomplished through changes in character or behavior caused by the disciplinary regimen, by exposure to traditional treatment modalities, or both? If rehabilitation is expected to occur via traditional treatment, what are the treatment needs of the offenders targeted for SI placement? Do appropriate treatment programs exist (or can they be developed) at the institution where SI will be operated? If reducing prison crowding is an important goal, what eligibility criteria and selection procedures will be used? Will they assure that most SI participants would have served regular prison terms if the program did not exist? If the selection process that is most politically acceptable in that jurisdiction likely will increase crowding, is it possible to develop support needed for a different selection process that will

be more effective in picking truly prison-bound offenders?

Advice for Officials Developing SI Programs

Again, we don't yet know enough about shock incarceration to make definitive recommendations about how programs should be designed. However, based on the experiences of the early SI programs, our interviews with correctional practitioners, and our direct observation of SI programs, it is clear that SI programs have a high potential for abusing or injuring inmates, and exposing state corrections departments (and possibly SI staff) to liability.

Therefore, for those proceeding to implement an SI program, we offer the following advice designed to protect inmates and staff, to limit potential liability, and to protect the legal and constitutional rights of persons in SI programs.

Inmate Protection:

- Inmates should have a complete medical examination and a licensed physician should certify them as fit for unrestricted participation before they are admitted to the program.
  - During this examination, inmates should be tested for diseases associated with intravenous drug use, such as endocarditis and hepatitis, that could pose a substantial risk for those required to perform strenuous physical exercise.
  - Persons should be excluded from SI who have AIDS or AIDS related complex (ARC). Persons who are seropositive to the HIV antibody, but who are asymptomatic, should be admitted, so long as a physician certifies that their current medical condition enables them to participate fully.
- Officials should develop clear policies governing physical training that gradually builds endurance while protecting inmates from dangerous physical stress levels.
  - States should use an authoritative physical training curriculum (such as that contained in the United States Army *Field Manual)* or contract with a qualified exercise physiologist or university physiology or physical education department to develop such a curriculum.
  - Such policies should:
    - Prohibit inmate participation in physical training until cleared to do so by a physician;
    - Strictly observe limits, if any, on participation in physical training set by medical staff;
    - Vary physical training requirements and intake of water according to weather conditions (e.g., in hot weather, exercise periods should be held during early morning and late evening hours);
    - Provide immediate medical attention for inmates who complain of headaches, dizziness, difficulty breathing, or other illness during exercises;
    - Refer for medical examination inmates who complain of an injury incurred during physical training; and,
    - Remove inmates from the program who are chronically unable to perform required physical training.
- Officials should establish an extraordinary and expedited grievance mechanism for SI programs, which would:
  - Provide a plainly marked, locked grievance box in an area openly accessible to inmates;
  - Forward materials left in the box unopened to an appropriate designated official—such as the Commissioner of Corrections, a state Ombudsman, or the Attorney General;
  - Require that official to conduct an immediate investigation; and,
  - Give SI inmates' unimpaired access by written communication to the judge who sentenced them and to their state legislators.

Staff Protection

- Officials should give a thorough medical examination to program staff who will participate in vigorous physical exercise along with the inmates and require a licensed physician to certify them as fit for such participation.

Limit State Liability

- Officials should require inmates to sign a form (bilingual, if necessary) stating they disclosed all known medical conditions or problems to prison medical staff when they were given admission physical examinations;
- Officials should require inmates to sign a (bilingual, if necessary) consent form volunteering to be in the program. The consent form should explain in clear language precisely what will be included in the SI program (physical exercise, strict discipline, work, etc.) and what the inmate's options are in terms of participation and subsequent withdrawal;

Legal and Constitutional Protection

- Officials should develop written policies governing conditions under which inmates may be expelled from the program and under which they may voluntarily terminate their participation. For expulsions, these policies should provide a level of due process equivalent to that used in hearings for disciplinary infractions that result (or could result) in a loss of good time.
- Officials should develop written disciplinary policies that distinguish infractions in the SI unit that will be:
  - handled by regular institutional disciplinary proceedings, and
  - subject to summary punishment in the SI unit.
- Officials should draft written policy that defines an exclusive list of sanctions that can be used as summary punishments and that sets clear, non-excessive, and absolute upper limits on the magnitude of such punishments.
- Officials should consider the legal ramifications of excluding older, physically handicapped, or physically impaired offenders from SI. Such offenders have a substantial liberty interest in access to a program like SI that could shorten their term of confinement. If older, handicapped, or physically impaired persons are not eligible for SI program, it may be necessary to give them other opportunities to shorten their terms of imprisonment;
- Officials should make SI programs available to both male and female inmates.

In the future, we may have evidence about SI's impact and effectiveness that enable us make definitive recommendations about SI program content. Until then, officials should make sure there is a direct link between program goals, program content, and methods of operation, so that there is at least a reasonable chance of attaining those goals. For example, if officials expect SI to change inmates' behavior by using program staff as positive role models, then policies that assure fairness and consistency in staff/inmates relations would be appropriate. Such policies might include:

- Training programs and guidelines for staff and supervisors that emphasize the importance of consistency in rule enforcement more than the harshness of punishments for rule violations; and,
- Written policies, staff training, and supervision, aimed at prohibiting SI staff and inmates from making derogatory comments based on persons' race, gender, or sexual orientation, including instituting practices that discourage sexual taunting of SI inmates by non-SI inmates.

If officials expect SI to rehabilitate offenders, in part, by means of traditional treatment, education, or vocational training programs, then policies should be developed which ensure that those programs will be delivered as intended (for example, policies that expedite approvals needed to fill staff vacancies). Finally, the policies should define a strong link between institutional and field services staff to assure continuity in provision treatment services and programs upon release.

The Critical Role of Evaluation

If officials decide to implement a new shock incarceration program, we strongly recommend that they make a firm commitment (including providing adequate resources) to conduct a rigorous evaluation of the program's effects and impacts.

Qualified researchers can help legislators and administrators determine whether a program's effects justify continued funding, and whether changes can be made to improve effectiveness. The earlier a researcher is asked to evaluate a program, the easier it will be to describe with confidence the components of the program that have been actually been implemented and to evaluate whether these components have resulted in positive or negative outcomes.

However, researchers also are bound by professional ethics to point out the limits of the programs most likely to reduce criminal behavior, and if supported by rigorous analysis, to advise the termination of even the most publicly popular programs. Therefore, before involving a researcher, officials should be sincere in their interest in knowing what effects the program has on participants. Officials must also be willing to cooperate in answering the following questions.

Who should design the program and on what basis?

Even skilled correctional officials may not alone have the expertise needed to predict what program elements will accomplish stated program goals. Just as experience in city driving is not sufficient expertise for highway design, experience in working with offenders does not by itself enable one to design a program that can reduce future criminal behavior.

People who have designed programs demonstrated to reduce recidivism among offenders typically have:

- a *proven* understanding of the multiple factors that increase the chance of an offender committing another crime, including individual and environmental characteristics;
- a *proven* understanding of the processes that lead an individual to refine his or her self concept and to reinterpret the meaning of his or her own actions and others behavior; and
- a commitment to building a program based on these understandings, rather than to proving a set theory or single approach [Chaiken, 1988].

Obviously, people with these characteristics are not limited to one profession. People who have designed effective programs include criminal justice officials, educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, and ex-offenders with experiential knowledge. Frequently a team approach, with differing viewpoints polled prior to making final decisions on program design, may prove useful.

What are the goals of the program?

Correctional programs should be evaluated in terms of their intent. Some innovative correctional programs are designed to reduce recidivism. Others are designed to reduce overcrowding, to increase public safety, to cut costs, to impose greater discipline on inmates or staff, to provide income, or to increase offenders' self- esteem and self-control. Programs designed for reasons other than reducing recidivism should not be expected to have a positive effect on the future behavior of inmates.

It also is important to specify goals clearly in advance so that secondary positive or negative effects can be detected later by researchers. For example, it may turn out that stringent discipline increases, rather than reduces, recidivism for some types of offenders. Unless goals are defined in advance so that means of measuring them are incorporated in the evaluation design, it may be very difficult to say what caused particular outcomes or whether the same effects could be expected again.

Additionally, even programs with similar major goals may have differing sub-goals. Among programs aimed at reducing recidivism, for example, some address all criminality, while others are designed to reduce future involvement in specific types of criminal pursuits but not in others. Thus, a program designed specifically to reduce criminal behavior should not necessarily be expected to reduce technical parole violations.

As compared to inmates not involved in the program, specifically what activities are carried out by program participants?

Specific correctional programs often involve many more activities than those noted as integral. Sometimes, activities originally envisioned as integral never take place; sometimes they change in midstream. To determine whether or not a program was successful, it is necessary to know what activities are consistently carried out by program participants, and whether they are any different than those carried out by nonparticipants. Additionally, to replicate programs that appear to be effective, the activities must be well documented.

It is also necessary to determine how frequently program activities were carried out by participants. The numbers of times each day or week program participants carry out specific activities has been found to be a significant factor in changing subsequent behavior.

Who were the staff members involved in the program? As compared to staff supervising similar inmates in other programs, what is the ratio of staff to inmates, and what is their background and training?

Staff selection, training, and assignment can be just as or more important than the program activities in determining program outcomes. Staff who are neutral or hostile to the program's goals or planned activities can not elicit the same commitment from participants

as staff members who are themselves committed to the programs' goals. Committed but untrained staff members cannot be as effective as those who have received required professional and administrative training.

The ratio of committed and trained personnel to program participants is also a factor that needs to be considered in evaluation. Program effects may be linked to the formation of a trust relationship between the participants and at least one member of the program staff. If there are relatively too few staff members available, a relatively high failure rate may result.

Who are the participants and how are they selected?

Many programs appear to be successful just because they accept only participants who probably would not be recidivists even if they did not take part in the program. Other programs that actually have a significant effect on participants behavior may appear to fail because they target high-rate dangerous chronic offenders who have an extremely high probability of being recidivists. If, for example, risk instruments predict that half the inmates in a shock incarceration program would return to prison within five years, a return rate of 30 percent could represent a major success. But if a program in another state recruited low-risk offenders, a 30 percent return rate could represent a major failure. In order to determine whether or not the program had a desired effect on participants' behavior, one must also ask, "In comparison to whom?"

The easiest way for researchers to answer this question is with a controlled experiment. Offenders that meet set criteria are offered placement in the program— but only half of the volunteers are randomly selected for participation. By comparing the subsequent behavior of the volunteers who participated with those who did not, it is possible to draw conclusions about whether changes in behavior were actually due to the program. Obviously, although controlled experiments are easiest for researchers they may be difficult for correctional administrators to implement; for example, programs may be under-enrolled and not have enough volunteers to randomly divide into participant and nonparticipant groups; staff members may be reluctant to reject someone who they think could profit from the program; or program providers may not want to accept someone they think will cause trouble. However, in many states the pool of offenders eligible for shock incarceration may be much larger than available program capacity. If so, correctional officials seriously should consider a controlled experiment, especially if they rather than judges control program admissions.

Because of the problems involved in controlled experiments, researchers often use comparison groups when evaluating correctional programs. They compare the behavior of program participants with the behavior of a group with similar characteristics; the more ways in which the comparison group is like the program participants, the more confidently the researcher can conclude that differences in behavior were due to the program. Characteristics especially important for comparison are age, sex, release status at time of last arrest (on bail, own recognizance, fugitive status for another crime) record of arrests and convictions for specific offenses—both juvenile and adult, vulnerability of victim, frequency and type of drug use, criminal record of other family members, prior record of employment, and community ties.

One method used in evaluating other types of programs is a comparison of the participants' behavior before and after they participated in the program. This is an acceptable method for evaluating programs designed to change compulsive behavior such as smoking or weight control. It may also be informative for studying programs targeted on specific forms of criminal behavior such as pedophilia.

However, before and after comparisons are *not* advisable to use for evaluating program effects on forms of behavior which in many cases ceases naturally.[1] Many forms of criminal behavior—even serious criminal behavior—are transitory and will cease with no formal correctional intervention. The vast majority of first time offenders do not become recidivists. The vast majority of adolescent offenders stop committing crimes when they approach their late teens or early twenties. Therefore, before and after comparisons are not recommended for evaluating the effects of most correctional programs.

Where does the program take place?

The environment in which a program operates can contribute to or detract from its potential success. The program's immediate environment can either foster or sabotage program goals. The peripheral presence of some individuals who are hostile to the program can

[1] Before and after comparisons can be useful in determining whether programs are achieving intermediate or internal objectives. For example, many shock incarceration programs expect that exposure to discipline and treatment programs will improve participants' self-image or change their attitudes toward authority between the time they begin and complete the program. Education programs offered in conjunction with shock incarceration have clear goals of improving educational levels. For such internal program components, a before and after comparison can provide valuable evidence about whether the program is working as intended.

actually enhance cohesion among participants by allowing for comparisons between "in-group" and "out-group" members [Chaiken, 1979; Turner and Killian, 1972]. However, it is very difficult to change participants' behavior if they spend a relatively high proportion of their time in contact with other offenders or correctional staff members who are hostile to the program. SI programs located at general population institutions typically separate participants from regular inmates. It is important to document the extent and quality of interaction between SI and general population inmates and to assess its effects on goal attainment.

Likewise, SI programs vary in the extent to which they promote esprit de corps among inmates. In a few programs the individual inmate is isolated and activities which might promote group cohesion (such as unison jodie calls, drilling competitions, etc.) are avoided. In others, platoons enter programs as a unit and stay together throughout the program. In addition to providing a focus for competition, the platoon becomes the core of a therapeutic community in the New York program.

Perhaps even more critical to a program's success is the environment surrounding participants after they are released from the program. In general, corrections programs that provide after care [Wexler, 1988] or 24 hour access to program staff [Chaiken, 1988], have a higher probability of success than programs that simply return offenders to the same environment in which they previously were committing crimes. As noted earlier, most shock incarceration programs provide more rigorous supervision for graduates, but not necessarily more intensive services or assistance.

How long are participants involved in the program?

There appears to be a minimum and a maximum time of program involvement that increases the probability of offender rehabilitation. Although these thresholds may vary, recent evidence suggests that periods of between nine months and one year of participation in a therapeutic program significantly increases the probability that attitudes and behavior will experience long lasting change [Wexler, 1988]. In light of such findings, it is important to ask if the current length of shock incarceration programs (3 to 6 months) is sufficient to affect participants' chances of success after release. This is a key question meriting further study.

What definition of "failure" should be used?

Various definitions of failure have been used in evaluations of correctional programs [See Table 3-1; Source: Maltz, 1984]. There is no single definition that should always be used. However, it is very important to use the same definition to compare the program participants with the comparison group. Practitioners and researchers need to decide collaboratively what definition of failure should be used. The definition should reflect program goals as accurately as possible. For example, a program intended to reduce violent behavior might define failure differently than a program with the more general goal of reducing "delinquency". However, when deciding what definition of failure to use, data collection costs must be balanced against the needed level of accuracy in measurements of programmatic goals.

In addition to collecting the official record information listed in Table 3-1, various methods for determining the behavior of participants and control group members after program completion include conducting interviews, carrying out surveys using written questionnaires, and more recently, urinalysis to provide data on drug abuse. These methods vary in the accurateness of the information collected and the cost of collection. Although no method produces absolutely accurate data, in general, the more accurately the data reflect the actual behavior of the individuals under study, the higher the costs are for collecting the data. For example, urinalysis data is more expensive to collect but more accurate than self-report data on use of drugs; and self-reports systematically collected by researchers are more costly to obtain, but more accurate, than information routinely collected by most probation and parole agencies or by police at arrest.

It also is important to remember that official record information reflects agency practice as much as it does the behavior of individual offenders. Therefore if the goal of the evaluation is to compare the relative success of programs being administered in two jurisdictions, the higher cost more accurate methods may be justified.

What measure of failure should be used to compare the program participants with the comparison group?

Until recent advances in evaluation research, the most common measure used for comparing program participants with a comparison group was the recidivism rate—the percentage of people in each group that failed during a set calendar period, usually a year. In the last few years, researchers at the forefront of developing methods for evaluation have strongly suggested that this measure is misleading, is biased, and throws away valuable information. [Maltz, 1984]. Use of this measure can actually mask significant effects programs have had on participants' subsequent behavior.

Table 3-1
Recidivism Definitions Used in Recent Studies

Definitions	Frequency
Offense data	
Recorded police contact	2
New offense	16
Severity of offense	16
Arrest	20
Parole-probation infractions	
Parole suspension	8
Parole revocation	8
Technical violation	26
Absconding	10
Probation violation	3
Court appearance	3
Reconviction	22
Sentencing	8
Return to prison	39

Source: Maltz, 1984, page 63

Two groups with fifty percent failures at the end of one year can have entirely different futures. If one group has almost all of its failures in the first three months and very few over the next nine months, we would expect it to have a better prognosis than one in which the failures have continued to mount throughout the year. In the first case, probably all who were going to fail have already done so, while in the second case the failing is probably not yet over. For this reason, an estimate of the *eventual probability of recidivism* is considered to be a better measure of a program.

The preferred measures are failure rates (the numbers of individuals who have failed at several progressively long intervals timed from their date of release) and survival rates (for individuals who have not failed, the amount of time after their release date they lasted without failure). Unlike the use of recidivism rates, which does not take into account the fact that different processes lead to recidivism at various stages after release, the use of failure rates and survival rates recognizes that there are critical periods after release and that the programs may foster the survival of participants at some specific stages but not others.

For example, some studies of corrections programs based on the Outward Bound model suggest that program effects diminish over time. If the effects of shock incarceration also are found to decline predictably over time, it may be important to consider ways to modify post-release supervision to re-stimulate initial positive effects.

What kinds of data are necessary for this measure?

Surprisingly, the data needed for this estimate are about the same as the data needed for analysis using a set calendar period. For each person who fails, the analysis requires the length of time between release and failure. For each person who has not failed (at least, during the period of observation), the analysis requires the length of time the individual was at risk, that is, the length of time between release and the last day she/he was observed. (Note that this method uses all of the time data, instead of just determining whether there was a failure before a certain date.)

What statistical method should be used to compare the failure measures for the program participants and the control group?

Researchers are continually improving statistical methods for analyzing the impact of correctional programs. Today's preferred method may be outdated by tomorrow. However, the method selected for analysis should be capable of:

- taking into account the characteristics of the program participants and people in the comparison group.
- taking into account the length of time individuals have been released and on the streets.
- utilizing all data on failure—and not throw away data on failure measures after a fixed calendar date.[2]
- utilizing all cases and not "throw away" individuals because they disappeared from a jurisdiction before a fixed calendar date.
- producing findings that are useful for making policy decisions.

Conclusion

Leaders in the corrections field have both a responsibility and an opportunity to shape new policy development to help reach key correctional goals. Administrators who are truly interested in finding out the effects of a correctional program on participants subsequent behavior need to involve a qualified researcher in their plans from the time the program is first under consideration. At the very least, an ongoing evaluation can demonstrate that program funds are being used for their intended purpose. More important, a rigorous evaluation can provide information needed to continually improve existing programs, justify the continued funding or expansion of effective programs, and identify programs whose results do not justify continuation.

[2] Data on failure that takes place after an analytically set interval after release will have to be discarded or the analysis will be biased toward failure.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Description of "Scared Straight" Programs

by

Wayne Logan

Background and Impetus For Programs

A 1979 television documentary that showed inmates serving life sentences at New Jersey's Rahway State Prison graphically describing the brutal realities of prison life to a group of young delinquents. The program was intended to deter budding criminals from future crime—in effect, to "scare them straight."

During the ninety minute program, juveniles referred by criminal justice agencies, community organizations and parents, were paraded through areas of the prison where they were exposed to taunting by inmates, and participated in a discussion session with a group of inmates serving life sentences. Using menacing, graphic, and abusive language, the lifers delivered a message that crime did not pay, apprehension and imprisonment were virtual certainties, and life in prison was likely to be nasty, brutish, and short. Over the years, over 15,000 youths participated. Feedback from questionnaires distributed to parents by the lifers portrayed the program as highly successful. While the program's success later was seriously challenged, at the time the public was captivated. Similar programs proliferated and continue today.

Two factors accounted for the programs' immediate appeal. First, it was direct, simple, and straightforward, based on the same deterrence approach most parents used successfully with their children. Second, the timing was right. The public increasingly feared juvenile crimes, and was frustrated by the failure of expensive, long-term treatment programs. Scared Straight seemed to be a cheap, no non-sense panacea promising immediate results.

Theoretical Basis

Scared Straight is conceived as a deterrence program. It tries to prevent future crimes by giving known delinquents a vivid (and perhaps inflated) impression of the future costs of crime. Unlike other juvenile deterrence programs, Scared Straight uses inmates to give greater credibility to the portrayal of crime costs.

Unfortunately, the effectiveness of Scared Straight as a deterrent is not established. Youthful offenders, like older offenders, may not behave rationally enough or have enough control over their impulses to consistently modify later behavior—even if they are quite frightened by the program. Additionally, it is not clear whether the fear invoked by the brief confrontation with prison life is any greater than their pre-existing fear of the unknowns of prison life. Finally, while Scared Straight may affect perceptions of the price of being caught, it does not address the key factor to deterrence: certainty that an offender is likely to be caught and punished.

Evaluation Findings

In 1979 the National Center on Institutions and Alternatives (NCIA) challenged the accuracy of the asserted success rates, noting that those rates were based on testimonials, not systematic research. In addition, NCIA revealed that the most youths who had attended the program were not serious or chronic delinquents and many lacked any juvenile record at all.

That same year Professor James O. Finckenauer, of Rutgers University, completed a study that compared Scared Straight participants to a similar group of non-participants. He found that while participants viewed crime less favorably than non-participants, they had much higher failure rates. Within six months 41.3 percent of the participants had been involved in new delinquent behavior, compared to only 11.9 percent of the non-participants. Finkenauer proposed several explanations, including the possibility that Scared Straight (a) triggered a "delinquency fulfilling prophecy" spurred by the youths' romanticization of the lifers, (b) challenged the youths to prove they were not intimidated by the experience, or (c) both.

Programs similar to Scared Straight sprang up around the country. When evaluations were done, however, no evidence of positive deterrent effects were found.

In 1979 the Michigan Department of Correction evaluated the Juvenile Offenders Learn Truth (JOLT) program. A group of 227 randomly assigned juveniles were monitored for three and six months after exposure to JOLT. A comparison group, which did not participate in JOLT, was tracked for the same period. The study found no reductions in juvenile's criminal activity and no other measurable benefits. Again, participants actually did worse than non-participants, although the difference was not statistically significant.

The California Youth Authority (CYA) conducted a study on the Squires program at San Quentin Prison. In the study male probationers were matched on criminal record and randomly assigned to either an experimental ($n=53$) or control group ($n=55$). The CYA found that the experimental group (those that participated in Squires) had positive changes in attitudes when compared to controls. However, the experimental and control groups were similar in terms of rates of re-arrest and new charges, and severity of new charges during the twelve-month follow-up period.

In response to these negative findings several national organizations urged that such programs be discontinued. The National Council on Crime and Delinquency called the approach shortsighted and criticized the lack of attention devoted to social and economic factors generally attributed to causing delinquency.

The programs, however, demonstrated remarkable resilience, although some modifications were made. New Jersey restricted participation in the program to

proven delinquents and attendance at the sessions declined. JOLT was suspended for sixty days, and later modified and reinstated. Supporters argued that the program (unlike Scared Straight) did no harm since experimental and control groups had similar rates failure rates. Moreover, they argued, it cost nothing, and was beneficial to the inmates who ran the program. This view has prevailed despite lack of supporting data, and several programs remain in existence today.

APPENDIX B

Description of Shock Probation and Parole

by

Wayne Logan

Background

Shock Probation consists of a brief term of imprisonment, followed by a return to community supervision. It too is based on specific deterrence. The short exposure to prison is supposed to deter offenders from future crime by increasing their perception of the costs of future criminal behavior. Of course, the experience of imprisonment must be new in order to produce the desired effect. Therefore, shock probation is restricted to offenders who have not been in prison before. In theory, shock probationers are treated the same as other inmates during their brief stay in prison. Sixteen states permit shock probation as a sentencing alternative.

Ohio passed the first shock probation law in 1965. Unlike the 1958 Federal "Split-Sentence" Law, the judge does not have to pronounce either probation or the length of confinement at the original sentencing. Also, unlike many split-sentencing laws, the confinement is served in a state prison, not a local jail. Any Ohio felon convicted of a crime for which probation may be granted is eligible if they have no prior felony record. Thirty to ninety days after they are admitted to prison, the inmate (or his or her attorney) can petition for re-sentencing to probation. The court, on its own initiative, also can re-sentence during this time. Those re-sentenced to probation must obey conditions and regulations of supervision set by the court, and face the risk of revocation and imprisonment if those conditions are violated. In Ohio an inmate granted shock probation must be released before serving 130 days.

In 1974 Ohio enacted legislation authorizing shock parole. Like shock probation, shock parole is based on the assumption that the "jolt" of prison life will deter young offenders from future crime. Shock parole has more stringent eligibility requirements, a longer term of confinement (6 months), and the Parole Board makes the relęasing decision. Ohio is the only jurisdiction with a formal shock parole program, although any parole board in a state with no or very low minimum sentences could fashion early release policies that have similar effect.

Advocates say shock probation:

- impresses offenders with the seriousness of their crimes without imposing a long prison term;
- gives courts a way to release offenders deemed amenable to community-based treatment, based on more extensive assessments than were available at the original sentencing;
- lets courts achieve a just compromise between punishment and leniency in appropriate cases;
- lets courts combine treatment and deterrence purposes when sentencing;
- allows young offenders serving their first prison terms to be released before they have been socialized into the prison culture.

Shock probation has been criticized by corrections officials, however, on several grounds. These include the following:

- Prisons cannot provide constructive programs for short-term inmates.
- Under some shock probation laws offenders (and correctional officials) do not know when they are admitted to prison that they will be released in three to four months. Therefore, prisons' investments in intake, classification, and planning procedures, designed to develop a longer-term institutional plan for the inmate, are "wasted" when an inmate unexpectedly is returned to community supervision.
- Shock probation encourages judges to imprison offenders who could be maintained safely on community supervison. This is an "irrational" use of limited prison resources and contributes to prison crowding.
- Shock probation inmates are more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse by older and more sophisticated prisoners.
- Shock probation inmates cause special management problems for custody staff. Inmates' first thiee to four months in prison are their most difficult and stressful. They have not adjusted to the routine of prison life. Most are young and rebellious. As the proportion of shock probationers in the prison increases, management problems become more severe.

Shock probation has not been widely accepted in American corrections. Since it was introduced 23 years ago, only sixteen states have enacted laws permitting its use.

In the jurisdictions in which shock probation is available, it appears to have become a significant factor in plea negotiations. Prosecutors and defenders sometimes strike a bargain in which an offender pleads guilty in exchange for a prison sentence which, it is promised, will later be converted to probation. Such practices (or judicial statements of intent to re-sentence) undercut a key element of shock probation—the anxiety over uncertain outcome. A 1982 survey revealed that almost half of the shock probationers released to community supervision in Texas had expected to be released because of specific elements of plea bargains they negotiated.

Evaluation findings

Ohio's program has been evaluated more extensively than those in other states. Some studies have described shock probation participants and outcomes; others have compared outcomes of shock probationers to similar offenders given regular probation.

Descriptive studies

Angelino et. al. (1975) studied a sample of Ohio inmates released under shock probation from 1966 to 1970 (n=554). They found that the program's statutory criteria were not fully observed. A significant portion of the shock probation inmates were older, had prior convictions or incarcerations, or were convicted of crimes supposedly excluded by law. In addition, shock probationers served more time than the legislature apparently had intended—almost 40 percent spent more than 120 days in prison.

Studies of Ohio's shock parole concluded that delays diminished the program's "shock" effects. Inmates viewed shock parole as a vehicle used to coerce acceptable behavior. (Vaughan, 1976) The Parole Board used shock parole heavily, which prompted a public outcry and led to greater eligibility restrictions.

As would be expected, studies show that success rates for persons released on shock probation are higher for offenders with no prior record, no prior incarceration, those who had committed non-assaultive crimes, and those who had strong and stable community ties. McCarthy (1976) concluded that the ideal defendant for shock probation is most likely to be young, have no previous record, have a good education and/or employment record, be married with dependents, and have committed a non-assaultive low seriousness crime. Bohlander (1973) studied offenders receiving shock probation in Franklin County, Ohio in 1970 and concluded that a prior record of incarceration reduced success on shock probation. Angelino et al. (1975) also found that recidivism was strongly associated with prior record.

Vito and Allen (1981) concluded that first-time offenders are the best candidates for shock probation. First offenders had a significantly lower probability of re-incarceration than those with a prior record (10% versus 23%). Among probationers with a prior record, persons over age 21 had significantly lower failure rates than the younger sub-sample (15.5% versus 34.4%). Interestingly, if the statutory criteria had been followed to the letter, these older felons with prior records would have been excluded from the program.

Comparison-group studies

Several studies examined experimental and comparison groups. Friday and Petersen et al. (1974) found higher success rates for the group for which the law was intended—young adults who commit non-violent probation-eligible offenses. However, Bohlander (1973) found a higher failure rate among shock probationers than among those offenders who did not receive a short period of confinement.

In her study of Federal split-sentence recipients Parisi (1981) found that only two-thirds had not been incarcerated before, and that the neophytes had lower recidivism rates. However, Parisi found that split-sentence offenders had comparable failure rates to probationers when other risk-related factors, like prior record, were controlled.

Vito and Allen (1981) considered an availability sample of all supervised shock (N=585) and regular probationers (N=938) released in 1975 in Ohio, examining re-incarceration rates within two years of original release. After holding differences between the two groups constant, they found that individuals receiving regular probation had a 42 percent lower probability of re-incarceration than shock probationers. Finally, in a recent study of regular and shock probationers in one metropolitan Kentucky county, Holmes, Sykes and Revels (1983) discovered that the two groups had almost identical rearrest rates (37% versus 35%).

Attention has also focused on judicial decision-making in shock probation. Petersen and Friday (1975) found that whites were more likely to be granted shock probation than similar black offenders. In a replication of that study, Vito (1978) concluded that the probation officers' recommendations, not race, were the most significant influence on judges' decisions: Individuals who received a favorable recommendation were more than twice as likely to be granted release on shock probation.

Finally, researchers have examined the effect of length of confinement before release on shock probation on first-time offenders. Waldron and Angelino (1977) divided their sample into two groups—those released in less than four months, and those released in more than four months, and examined their subsequent arrest, conviction and incarceration rates. They concluded that an offender was as likely to recidivate after three months in prison as after seven to twelve months in prison. Vito (1978) discovered that shock probationers who were imprisoned for 30 days or less had a lower re-incarceration rate than those offenders who served more than 30 days.

Faine and Bohlander (1979) interviewed 500 new admissions to the Kentucky state prison in 1975 during their first and fifth weeks of imprisonment. They found that the shock effect occurs very soon after confinement and that even a 30-day period of incarceration was enough to increase offenders' antisocial attitudes.

The results of research on the effects of shock probation are not particularly positive. Comparison group studies either found no difference in outcomes between those given shock probation and offenders given

regular community supervision, or found that shock probationers failed at higher rates. Research also suggests that the negative effects of exposure to prison begin to occur very quickly— much sooner than shock probation programs are designed to release offenders. These findings suggest great caution in exposing persons to confinement who can be safely supervised in the community.

APPENDIX C

Description of Challenge Programs

by

Wayne Logan

Background

Challenge programs try to rehabilitate offenders by increasing their self- esteem, self-control, and respect for authority by exposing them to vigorous physical and mental challenges. Typically, such programs have been used for older juvenile offenders. Outward Bound has been the prototype for many correctional challenge programs.

Outward Bound stemmed from work by Kurt Hahn and Lawrence Holt during World War II. While merchant seamen often were able to abandon torpedoed ships, alarming numbers perished in lifeboats. Hahn and Holt established a school in Aberdovey, Wales to teach merchant seamen how to survive in the frigid North Atlantic. They believed that the men needed more than just knowledge of specific survival skills. They also needed confidence in their physical and psychological toughness in the face of life-threatening conditions. Their school used difficult physical challenges to prepare the seamen for survival.

The program's success immediately was evident in increased survival rates. After the war Hahn decided that the program could be integrated usefully into civilian life. In the ensuing years, he founded a number of Outward Bound Schools in England and British Commonwealth. In 1960 Outward Bound was introduced to the United States by Peace Corp training in Puerto Rico.

Today seven Outward Bound schools operate in the United States. Outward Bound, Inc. is a tax-exempt, non-profit institution that charters the schools and supports the Outward Bound movement in the United States. The schools are independently organized, but abide by joint policies, particularly in the areas of safety and curriculum. The collective annual enrollment of the schools is over seven thousand. Most students take the 21-26 day course. Although initially designed for young males, the schools today enroll men and women of all ages.

Outward Bound gives individuals a physically and emotionally challenging experience in a wilderness environment. All activities are structured to test and expand individual capabilities. Challenges become progressively greater; success is built upon previous success. The small group is the principal unit: 9-12 persons live together, act as a team, and develop cooperative skills necessary to succeed. The physical challenges are not ends in themselves, but are vehicles through which personal growth takes place. They provide opportunities for gaining both self-reliance and trust of others.

In 1970 Massachusetts implemented its Homeward Bound program, which for the first time applied the Outward Bound philosophy to adjudicated juveniles. Since then, similar programs for delinquents have sprung up across the country.

Theoretical Basis

Correctional challenge programs for delinquents share a common philosophical with Outward Bound. The treatment strategy is based upon experiential, rather then therapeutic, goals:

> "Outward Bound's purpose is to develop respect for self, care for others, responsibility to the community, and sensitivity to the environment." [citation]
>
> The Outward Bound process assumes that learning and understanding take place when people engage in and reflect upon experiences in challenging environments in which they must make choices, take responsible action, acquire new skills and work with others. The intensive, short-term programs are intended to be empowering experiences. Individuals' exposures to physically and emotionally challenging situations teach them that they have the capacity to alter their behavior and way of life. This sense of empowerment leads to a reevaluation of past behavior and an awakening of identity. In theory, inner strength will flow from the accomplishment of meeting challenges.

A crucial component of this orientation is a technique known as Reality Therapy. Reality Therapy assumes that all persons make choices in life and must be held accountable for their behavior and its consequences upon others. As its name implies, the approach embraces a realistic view of offender treatment. Past history and its associated excuses are disregarded; only the present and its immediate challenges are of concern. The rationale for this view is fueled by practical as well as theoretical reasons. It is only when the individual alone faces up to behavior and its consequences that personal accountability can be assessed and growth can take place.

Reality Therapy is well-suited to a treatment program based in the outdoors, an environment which readily allows one to sense the impact of personal behavior and places a premium on personal responsibility. Youths are encouraged to assess realistically their own limitations and acknowledge that they perhaps are neither so limited nor capable as they once may have assumed. Ideally, challenged-based programs cause delinquent youths to discover that self-confidence has more to do with genuine accomplishment than with bravado.

In addition, an individual must be willing to change if meaningful change is to occur. The delinquent must make an active and sincere commitment to changing his/her delinquent lifestyle and behavior. While the initial motivation may stem from compulsion (i.e., court commitment), an individual commitment eventually

must emerge and be continually reaffirmed. Fortunately, the program possesses a ready-made entre: for most young males, a wilderness "survival" experience appeals to the "tough" image they often project.

Challenge programs appear to have a firm foundation in social science theory and research. While no uniform typology of delinquency exists, it is commonly believed that delinquents suffer from deficiencies in problem-solving skills and from dysfunctional views of self. Self-perception has been shown to play a crucial role in the behavior of individuals. Research has indicated that a high level of self-esteem has positive effects on willingness to initiate action (Gergen, 1971) and is correlated with performance variables such as better grades, interpersonal competence, and work responsibilities (Fitts, 1972). The development of physical fitness has been shown to have a significant impact on self-perception. (Hilyer and Mitchel, 1979) One such study examined 25 delinquents in a 4-week physical training program. Subjects showed greater significant increases, relative to controls, in all fitness performance measures as well as in body attitude, positive self-attitude, self-acceptance, and positive behaviors. (Collingwood, 1972) Further, feelings of self-efficacy in one area of personal behavior have been empirically proven to generalize to other, not necessarily similar areas of behavior. (Bandura, 1975) Finally, the presence or absence of problem-solving skills has been correlated to the presence or absence of behavioral dysfunction. Increases in skill level have been strongly linked with increases in behavioral measures of adjustment. (Spivack and Shure, 1974) In a before and after comparison study Wright (1982) found significant increases in measures of self-esteem, self-efficacy and physical fitness among participants in challenge programs for delinquent youth in Pennsylvania.

Evaluation Findings

Non-Comparison Group Studies

Cannon and McAlphin (1984) studied the progress of all graduates of Florida's Short Term Elective Placement (S.T.E.P.) program for delinquents between 1976-1983 (n=1752). An individual was counted a recidivist if, after 12 months following release, he or she was: (1) recommitted or revoked, resulting in assignment to the Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services; (2) convicted and re-sentenced to probation or incarceration by an adult court; or (3) placed on probation, fined or incarcerated by an adult court with an adjudication held. In their work, incarceration included correctional institutions as well as county jails. Youths were not counted as recidivists if they were rearrested and had their cases dismissed or were rearrested as juveniles and were given a disposition of lesser restrictiveness (e.g. juvenile probation) than imprisonment.

Cannon and McAlphin found that 31.3 percent of the youths recidivated within 12 months of release from S.T.E.P. As expected, youths with no prior commitment were more successful than those previously committed (59.2% versus 35.7%). Females fared considerably better than males, and rural youths succeeded more often than their urban or suburban counterparts. Neither offense type nor race of offender had an impact on recidivism.

Kimball (1979) evaluated the Wilderness Experience Program operated by the State of New Mexico for mentally disordered first offenders and those soon to be released on probation or parole. The 21-day program included a training phase, an expedition phase, and a solo survival experience. The expedition involved such challenges as rock climbing, whitewater rafting, and rappelling.

Each client underwent extensive screening and interviews by clinicians and staff. Individuals were screened for appropriateness prior to commencement of the wilderness phase—each had to be amenable to treatment and have a capacity to foresee the consequences of behavior. In addition, participants could not be significantly retarded, be predisposed to violence, or require constant supervision. The typical candidate was a 16 year old Hispanic youth with a prior record involving felonious offenses.

The study evaluated the recidivism performance of 109 juveniles. Recidivism was defined as reconviction by a court; the violation of probation/parole resulting in an adverse change in the offender's legal status; and the presence of delinquent or socially unacceptable behavior resulting in police contact. Kimball discovered the rates to fluctuate on the basis of criterion of recidivism and time frame utilized. A low rate of 10% for reconviction was found within three months of course completion and a high of 28% with regard to police contact within nine months of course completion.

Comparison Group Studies

Kelly and Baer (1968,1971) carried out the first and perhaps most influential experimental research on challenge programs. An experimental group (n=60) of Massachusetts delinquents attended 26-day Outward Bound programs in Colorado, Minnesota, or Maine and a control group (n=60) was treated in a routine manner by the Massachusetts Division of Youth Services. The groups were matched on such characteristics as age, IQ, commitment offense, and prior commitments.

Recidivism was defined as a return to a juvenile institution or commitment to an adult institution after parole. At the nine-month follow-up 20 percent of the experimental group, as opposed to 34 percent of the control group, had recidivated ($p < .01$). At one year the

experimental group had a 20 percent recidivism rate compared to 42 percent for the controls ($p<.01$). The one-year recidivism expectancy rate for all boys committed to the Division of Youth Services at that time was 40 percent. Kelly (1974) subsequently looked at the recidivism rates at the five year point. He discovered an increase in rates in both groups – the experimental group was up to 38 percent and the control group was 58 percent – but the differential was not statistically significant.

According to Kelly and Baer, success was related to a number of background variables such as age at time of commitment, type of offense and presence of both parents in the home, which were not related to success on parole in the control group. Boys committed after the age of 14 were more successful. Also, boys committed as "stubborn" or runaways proved to be less successful in the program. The authors concluded that the program was more effective with youths never institutionalized and those committed on the basis of property-related offenses.

Wellman and Chun (1979) compared recidivism rates in two programs – Homeward Bound and the Lyman School, a traditional training school for delinquent youth. Identical measures of recidivism were used as in the Kelly and Baer study and subjects were randomly assigned to the two treatment approaches. Homeward Bound had a 20.8 percent recidivism rate, compared to 42.7 percent for the Lyman School.

To date, research on challenge programs has been limited in quality, largely due to research design flaws stemming from lack of randomization or tight controls on offender selection. In several studies comparison groups were matched to control for some variables (i.e., prior record, age, etc.) but usually did not involve random assignment of persons who had completed all program admission and screening stages. Challenge programs usually "skim" participants – selecting only those who staff think will succeed in a program. While skimming may conserve valuable resources, it inflates the probability of success, thereby limiting our ability to attribute positive outcomes to the program itself. Moreover, the studies reviewed used different measures of recidivism, and different follow up periods. Most did not measure the seriousness of any subsequent delinquent or criminal behavior.

With those caveats in mind, evaluations of challenge programs generally have been positive. According to Shore (1977), "the evidence supporting Outward Bound effectiveness in reducing recidivism among delinquents is consistent but not conclusive." Completion of this program appears to build esteem and reduce the likelihood of further contact with the juvenile justice system within the first year of release from the program. However, program failure serves as an almost certain predictor of recidivism.

APPENDIX D-1

Mississippi RID Program Manual
(Females)

RID MANUAL

Revised: November 1, 1987

Chapter I
Introduction

HISTORY OF RID PROGRAM

The Southern States Correctional Association's Annual Convention convened in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in June of 1984. Among the activities provided for the Conventioners was a tour of Lexington Oklahoma's Assessment and Reception Center. Several of the Mississippi Legislators and MDOC Personnel went on the tour of the Facility. During the tour they became very interested in the RID (Regimented Inmate Discipline) Program, (the first and only one of its kind in the U.S.), which was in place there. For various and sundry reasons the Oklahoma RID Program is no longer in operation.

The interest in this unique "paramilitary" prison rehabilitative program continued upon their return to Mississippi and a three day follow-up indepth tour and evaluation of the Program was also planned for the month of October 1984. Three MDOC Administrative Staff members made the trip to Oklahoma to learn first hand about the intricate format, staffing, and operations of the RID Program. This proved to be a worthwhile venture as the Mississippi Staff had the opportunity to assess the pros and cons of the Program, based on first hand observations, interviews with participants, and input from the Staff at Lexington Prison. As a result, improvements in the program design as well as avoidance of flaws or pitfalls in the programs were made prior to implementation of the program at the Mississippi Department of Corrections.

The RID Program's general format was developed and subsequently approved by the Commissioner by February 1985. Plans were made to locate the Program at the newest prison facility, Unit #30, (opening date, April 8, 1985). All Mississippi Circuit Court Judges and District Attorneys were appraised of the Programs purpose and intent as well as its design and expected outcomes, three months in advance of the Programs implementation.

On January 21, 1987, the new Women's Unit was opened at Rankin County Correctional Facility in Pearl, Mississippi. Five women who were in the RID Program at Parchman were transported to the Rankin County Correctional Facility. The RID Program for women was started in Building "D" of the new Women's Unit.

PURPOSE OF RID PROGRAM

The RID Program has numerous purposes and goals, the main of which is to provide an alternative to the long term incarceration of the primarily youthful first offenders. This is accomplished through the application of a highly structured program which teaches and provides an atmosphere for learning personal discipline, creative problem solving and coping skills, self-confidence, personal responsibility, self respect, respect for others, social skills and improved attitudes and value systems.

The purpose is to equip RID Participants with the necessary life skills which will aid them in their everyday lives both within and outside of the Prison System. The acquisition of the above skills and personal abilities will significantly increase the liklihood of the participants ability to lead law abiding, creative and fulfilling lives as contributing members of the free society, once released. Thus, in the final analysis, a significant reduction in the recidivism rate of youthful and first time offenders should result for the population participating in the RID Program.

ADDITIONAL PURPOSES AND EXPECTED OUTCOMES OF THE RID PROGRAM ARE:

1. Relief of overcrowding conditions in the State through the provision of a short term incarceration program.

2. Promotion of a positive image of Corrections.

3. Improved public relations

4. Public education regarding current trends in Corrections.

PHILOSOPHY OF RID PROGRAM

In the past inmates have been placed on Earned Probation with the idea in mind that short term incarceration or "a taste of prison life" was all that was needed to get the beginning offender's attention and thus curtail his inclination to lead a criminally oriented life style once released. These Earned Probationer's were mixed with general population inmates within the prison system and were not exposed to any meaningful structured or habilitative program except for the three (3) week A&D Education Treatment Program. They were invariably recommended for release on

probation if they met one general requirement, that being that they did not present any unusual disciplinary problems during their 60 to 90 day period of incarceration.

The RID Program was designed to accommodate all Earned Probationers in an effort to do more than merely expose them to a "taste of prison life", (which has often been credited with educating young offenders on how to become bigger and better criminals rather than changing their criminal behavior to that of law abiding citizens). The philosophy of the RID Program revolves around the RID's Logo; to "Create a better life for one and a better world for all". By placing our emphasis on teaching alternative ways of thinking and problem solving, personal discipline, and individual responsibility, the RID Program proposes to graduate a man who views himself, others, and the world as a whole in a vastly different manner than he did when entering the Program three (3) to four (4) months earlier.

Each individual participant goes through a personal catharsis as he is challenged mentally, physically, and spiritually in an effort to realize his potential to exercise control of himself, his life style, and his own destiny.

DYNAMICS OF THE RID PROGRAM

The RID (Regimented Inmate Discipline) Program is a 90 to 120 day treatment oriented program which was implemented April 22, 1987, at the then newly opened Unit #30. The first thirty (30) days of the Program involves intensive instructions in military bearing, courtesy drills, and ceremony, and physical exercise. Participants are initially oriented into the Program by the Drill Commander, Drill Instructor, and Case Manager. From the outset they are all required to practice good grooming and personal hygiene habits.

Participants based on recommendations from the Staff Physician are assigned accordingly to a squad, platoon, and a P.T. group. RID (s) participate in other structured activities such as; individual counseling, and feed-back sessions, work activities, A&D follow-up meetings, church and spiritual programs, as well as gym call.

All new incoming RID participants will be involved in value clarification and development of moral thinking. This will be accomplished through behavioral modification based on Reality Therapy and Rational Emotive Therapy approaches. All new participants will be administered the Defining Issues Test (D.I.T.) prior to any classes or therapy sessions. This is done to determine a base line of each participant moral develop thinking stage. Post test will be administered for a comparative analysis of their accomplishment.

RID Participants are kept separate from general population inmates and experience feelings of support and comradship by being a part of such positive oriented group. There is peer pressure to conform and anyone ot conforming must appear before a committee of Administrative Staff members before being dismissed from the RID Program. The Participants must present positively no disciplinary problems and be positive, orderly, well mannered, and well disciplined.

Participants are aware that they are closely observed and are rated daily by the Drill Instructor, Case Manager, and Coordinator on several areas of program treatment. Check lists are used to evaluate overall successful completion in addition to individual interviews and staffings.

Once participants have completed 90 to 120 days, the Coordinator prepares a final report with recommendations regarding their release. This report is forwarded to the RID Participant's sentencing Judge for his review and subsequent action. Each successful participant is awarded a certificate of completion from the RID Program prior to their release.

DISCIPLINE THERAPY

ORIENTATION

The discipline orientation of the RID Program consist of intensive instruction in military bearing and courtesy. Once the offender enters Rankin County Correctional Facility "D" Building, she is greeted by the Drill Instructors. At this particular time, the RID Offenders then receive direct instructions from the Drill Instructors regarding what is expected of them while participating in the RID Program. The RID (s) are told by the Drill Instructors to do "what they are told to do," when told to do it". The Drill Instructors make it know to the offenders that no disrespect of disobeying any orders will be tolerated at any time.

They are then instructed that whenever talking to a Drill Instructor or Staff, their reply will be:

"Yes Sir", "No Sir", or "Yes Ma'am", "No Ma'am",

Failure to do this will result in disciplinary actions. The RID (s) are told that they are expected to march, perform facing movements, participate in flag ceremonies, count cadence, and perform different types of physical exercises.

At the end of Orientation they know that they will follow every rule and regulation to the letter if they expect to remain in the RID Program.

STANDARD OPERATING PROCEDURES OF THE RID UNIT

1. **CANTEEN** - Is given once a day Monday through Friday beginning at 1700 hours. The Vending Machines placed in the unit are off limits to all RID Inmates except during their free time: 1130 a.m., 1200 p.m., and 1800 to 2100 hours. On Saturday and Sunday you may use the Vending Machines when not involved in organized activities.

2. **TELEPHONE** - Are available for your use from 1800 to 2100 hours, MOnday through Friday and on Saturday and Sunday from 1100 hours to 2200 hours. Ten (10) minutes is the maximum amount of time you may spend on the telephone.

3. **MONEY DRAW** - Sign up sheets are posted on the Unit Bulletin Board. You may sign up no later than 1800 hours on Sunday. Money Draw is issued on the following Thursday.

4. **MAIL** - All mail and packages will be issued during the Third Watch. Each inmate may receive (1) one package per month no larger than 12x12x12x12.

5. **LAW LIBRARY**- Requests for legal assistance forms may be obtained from the Unit Clerk. If you need help in completing this form the Unit Officer or Case Manager will assist you.

6. **SHOWERS** - You may shower between the hours of 0530 and 0600 hours and 1800 to 2100 hours. You will not use the showers at any other time.

7. **GYM CALL** - Gym call will be held on Saturdays from 1830 to 2000 hours. Other recreation will be scheduled based on the season and weather.

8. **VISITING** - RID Inmates will receive visitors on the First and Third Sundays of each month. Visitor names must be placed on your visiting card or they will not be allowed to visit.

9. **MEDICAL AND DENTAL** - Sick and Dental Call is held each Monday beginning at 0800 hours. You will be advised as to what time you will meet Sick and Dental Call.

10. **LAUNDRY** - RID sheets will be washed once a week and your personal clothes twice a week. The exact Laundry Schedule is posted on the Unit Bulletin Board.

11. ATTENDANCE - Your attendance at the Dining Hall, Physical Training and Educational Classes is mandatory. Permission from the D.I. or higher authority must be obtained before you will miss any scheduled activity.

12. TV's AND RADIOS - RID Inmates are not allowed personal radios or Televisions.

13. RESPECT FOR STAFF - ALL STAFF MEMBERS will be treated with courtesy and respect.

14. THE ORDER OF ATTENTION - When in the platoon area or in the presence of the Drill Instructors, Sergeants, and above ranked Officers, and all civilians that enter the area. RID Inmates will call the Order of Attention.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE RID HOUSING UNIT

1. No horse playing at any time.
2. No smoking in the hall, formation, dining hall or during inspections.
3. No hats, rags, or curlers are to be worn in the dining hall.
4. No clothing will be out of the lockers between 0530 hours and 1830 hours. No clothing will be hung in the windows or on the foot of the bed.
5. RID's will not be allowed in the hall unless they are called out by the Drill Commander, Drill Instructor, Case Manager, or falling out for formation.
6. Loud noises or obscene language will not be tolerated.
7. RID's are never to talk back to any Drill Instructor, officers, or any staff.
8. Physical abuse, threats, or any negative action toward anyone will be treated as a serious rule violation.
9. RID's will not associate or converse with any inmate not in the RID Program except those authorized by the Drill Commander, i.e., Canteen Operator, Laundry Person or Unit Clerk.
10. Gambling, stealing or drug use will be treated as a serious rule violation.
11. RID's will not be allowed off their racks between 2230 hours and 0430 hours except to go to the bathroom.
12. Attendance in class, gym, dining hall, etc., is mandatory.
13. Borrowing or selling of any item is forbidden. Permission to transfer ownership of any item must be approved by the Drill Commander.
14. RID's must say "Yes Sir", and "Yes Ma'am" to all staff and free world people.
15. RID Inmates must march when in groups of four or more.
16. Each RID Inmate will be responsible for keeping their lockers in order and their living area clean at all times.
17. When RID's are assigned to work detail they cannot quit working until the job has been completed and inspected unless otherwise authorized.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE RID HOUSING UNIT (CONT.)

18. RID Inmates must say "By your leave Sir" or "By your leave Ma'am" when leaving the presence of the Drill Instructor, Sergeant, Lieutenant or higher authority.

19. All Drill Instructors will be address as DI_____ and all other officers as Officer_____.

20. RID's will obey all direct orders of the Drill Instructor and other staff members.

21. RID's will not sleep with their clothes on between the hours of 2230 and 0430. They will wear proper sleeping apparel.

22. The DI's can order any RID to open their locker for inspection at any time.

GROOMING STANDARDS

1. HAIR - Hair will be neatly combed. Ponytails will not be worn. The hair must not extend beyond the top of the collar. When wearing your cap, all hair will be pinned up under the cap.

2. MAKE-UP - Make up may be worn but it must be the same color as your natural skin tone. Loud or multi-colors will not be allowed.

3. CLOTHING - All clothing must be neat, clean, and free of any writing or drawings. Defacing the outside of your clothing will result in Disciplinary Action. Shirt will be buttoned to the next to the last button at the top. Sleeves will be cuffed. Shirt tails will be tucked in military style, folded at the sides. The (Gig line) shirt seam in line with zipper seam will be straight at all times. Pants leg will not extend beyond the top of the shoe.

4. SHOES - Shoes will be spit shined daily.

5. CAPS - Caps will be worn two fingers above the bridge of the nose and worn anytime you are outside.

6. I.D. CARD - I.D. Cards will be worn on the left collar.

7. FINGERNAILS - Fingernails will be clipped even with the tip of the fingers.

PROCEDURES AND REGULATIONS OF THE DINING HALL

1. No talking will be allowed at any time in the dining hall. RID inmates must request "Permission to speak, Sir/Ma'am" before asking any DI any questions.

2. No food or drinks will be removed from the dining hall.

3. RID's will come to attention when an official comes into the dining hall when told to do so by the D.E.

4. RID's will not be given seconds in the dining hall unless there is enough for everyone.

5. Permission must be given from the D.I. before RID's may return to the serving line to get items forgotten during serving, i.e., spoon, drink, etc.

6. RID Inmates will sit eight (8) to a table.

7. Upon entering the dining hall, RID's will march to their table and stand at attention.

8. Upon being given the order to begin RID's will march to the head of the serving line in a single line.

9. When at the head of the serving line they will step sideways, heels together when stopped. RID Inmates will not talk to the kitchen workers. At the end of the serving line, each RID will do a "about face" and march back to the table. All turns will be military style.

10. Once at the table all RID's will stand at attention with no movement. The last inmate arriving at the table will call out "be seated," and all (8) eight sitting at the same table will sit down in unison.

11. RID's will not talk or look around the dining hall during eating.

12. When the RID Inmates have finished eating they will remain seated until given their table command of attention. On the inter-face command the inmates will turn toward the direction that the command is given from.

PROCEDURES AND REGULATIONS OF THE DINING HALL (cont.)

13. Beginning with table number one (1) far side from the serving line will march to the tray window and dispose of their tray and do a left or right face and march back to their table and remain at attention. Inmates may be given the order of parade rest when all eight (8) inmates ahve returned to their table.

14. When all inmates have disposed of their trays and returned to the table they will be given the command to inter-face. The inmates will turn in the direction of the command and exit the dining hall in the order given by the Drill Instructor.

15. There will be no smoking in the dining hall or in formation.

16. RID (s) will not swap or give away their food.

17. If any RID Inmates has a problem with their food they must request "permission to speak" and tell the D.I. the problem. RID (s) will not make negative comments about the food to anyone else.

RID PROGRAM

Daily Schedule

0430 -	Wake Up Call - Clean Area
0500 - 0530	Physical Training
0530 - 0615	Shower - Dress For The Day
0615 - 0645	Breakfast
0700 - 0800	Clean Up Unit
0800 - 0815	Flag Detail
0830 - 1130	Classroom Instruction - Drill, Work Detail
1130 - 1200	Free Time - Prepare for Lunch
1200 - 1245	Lunch
1300 - 1600	Classroom Instruction, Drill, Work Detail
1600 - 1615	Flag Retreat
1630 - 1700	Dinner
1700 - 1800	Mail, Canteen Call
1800 - 2100	Free Time
2100 - 2230	Study Time
2230 -	Rack Down, Lights Out

RID COUNT PROCEDURES

1. From the hours of 0500 to 1600, RID Inmates will stand at the foot of their rack at count time until the order "count clear" is given.

2. After 1600 hours RID (s) may sit on their beds during count.

3. There will be no talking or movement during the count.

4. RID (s) will not lay or sit on the floor during the count.

5. Every RID must be at their own bed during the count.

6. RID (s) will not talk to the Officer during the count unless spoken to by the Officer.

7. If any RID Inmate is in the bathroom or any activity that cannot be itnerrupted during the count, they will remain where they are until the order count clear is given.

PLACEMENT

There are three (3) Squads for the RID Program. These are the:

TRAINING SQUAD
MIDDLE SQUAD
ADVANCED SQUAD

When offenders enter the RID Program, they are automatically placed in the Training Squad. Those offenders placed in this Squad are trained and drilled by one of the Drill Instructors. There are times when the RID Platoon Leader will assist the Drill Instructors in their training. At the end of the two (2) weeks of constant drilling by the Drill Instructor, the RID Offenders who have executed all movements fairly well are then placed in the Middle Squad. The offenders continue their training in Drill and Ceremonies. Once the Drill Instructor observes an individual RID offender doing outstanding in drilling and also having an overall knowledge of each drill movement, she is then placed in the Advanced Squad. Even though all squads perform and drill for various tour groups and V.I.P.'s, the Advanced Squad is more or less the "Show Platoon" or Squad.

All RID offenders who are disabled or who cannot march or exercise, are placed in the Disabled Squad. These offenders usually are not required to march or to exercise.

Mississippi Department of Corrections

Rankin County Correctional Facility

5001 Hwy 468

P.O. Box 88550

Pearl, Ms. 39208-8850
601-932-2880

TO:

FROM: RCCF Medical Staff

SUBJECT: Medical Evaluation on RID Participant

INMATE: _____ MSP # _____

DATE: _____

The above named RID Participant has been examined by the RCCF Medical Staff for participation in the physical training (exercise and marching) segment of the RID Program.

This inmate may or may not participate as indicated below:

NORMAL TO STRENOUS EXERCISE AND MARCHING	( )
LIGHT EXERCISE AND MARCHING	( )
NO EXERCISE, BUT CAN MARCH	( )
NO MARCHING OR EXERCISE	( )

COMMENTS:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____ _____

MEDICAL STAFF SIGNATURE DATE

PHYSICAL EXERCISES AND TRAINING

Each offender participating in the RID Program is required to have a physical examination by a Medical Doctor at the RCCF Hospital before she can engage in any type of physical training. After the offender has been cleared by the Medical Staff, it is mandatory that she attend the physical exercise class each morning at 05:30 Hrs. The Drill Instructor in charge of the Physical Exercise Class each morning will break the Platoons into three (3) squads. RID offenders who have been in the program for one (1) month or less make up the Training Squad. RID offenders who have been in the program for over two (2) months make up the Advanced Squad. The Training Squad is required to do five (5) of the below exercises:

1. Push-ups
2. Bend 'n' thrust
3. Rock 'n' chair
4. Sit-up's

The Middle Squad is only required to do ten (10) of the below exercises:

1. Push-up's
2. Bend 'n' thrust
3. Rock 'n' chair
4. Sit-up's

The Advanced Squad is required to do fifteen (15) of all exercises.

There are only ten (10) basic exercises that the RID Offenders do daily, and they are the following:

1. Push-up's
2. Jumping Jacks
3. Arm Rotation
4. Bend 'n' thrust
5. Rock 'n' chair
6. Sit-up's
7. Six (6) inches
8. Windmills
9. Picking berries
10. Mountain climbers

The Drill Instructor in charge of the physical exercise classes will grade each RID daily on how well she does her exercise. After all the exercises have been completed inside the gym, all offenders fall outside on the walk and run one (1) lap around the compound.

NOTE: At no time will any RID offender be required to do more than fifteen (15) of any exercise. Attached to this page is a copy of the physical evaluation sheet used to evaluate RID offenders for physical exercise.

best copy available

DRILL AND CEREMONIES

Drill and Ceremonies are taught to RID (s) on a daily basis by the Drill Instructors or Drill Commander. Each offender receives instructions on how to march, perform facing movements, count cadence, and participate in Flag ceremonies. Each Drill Instructor used the following three (3) methods to teach drill:

1. The step by step method.
2. Numbers method.
3. The talk through method.

The uniqueness of the particular movement being taught will indicate the most effective method to use. As a rule, marching movements are taught by using the step by step method as this is what Drill Instructors prefer because it ensures that the RID (s) develop a satisfactory degree of proficiency during the time allotted and ensures a complete and consistent presentation by the Drill Instructors. The RID offenders are to know and to be familar with twelve (12) Basic Drill Movements used the most during their stay in the RID Program.

These movements are:

1. Attention
2. Parade Rest
3. Present Arms
4. Order Arms
5. Left Face
6. Right Face
7. Forward March
8. Halt
9. Column Right
10. Column Left
11. Stand At Ease
12. Rest

DAILY DATA

Once an offender enters the RID Program, she is exempt from any type of marching or exercise until she has had a physical given by the RCCF Medical Staff. When cleared by the Hospital, the offender will then begin training. At this point, the Drill Instructor begins to keep a daily report on each offender. Included on this daily report is:

1. PHYSICAL TRAINING - Involves how well the offender performs at morning P.T.
2. HYGIENE - Refers to how clean the offender keeps herself, her living area, and how well she is groomed.
3. MOTIVATION - Involves whether or not the individual is motivated during P.T., marching, or her enthusiam in general.
4. SELF-IMAGE - Refers to whether or not the offender has self confidence or cares about herself.
5. CONVERSATION - refers to whether or not the offender communicates with the Drill Instructors and other RID offenders.

DAILY DATA: (continued)

Each offender can earn a total of 100 points on the Drill Instructor reports. The reports are completed daily by the DI (s) and turned in at the end of the day to the RID Drill Commander. The reports are gathered by the Case Manager every Wednesday for statistical analysis.

NOTE: Attached to this page is the form that Drill Instructors use for documenting Daily Data on RID Participants.

R.I.D. PROGRAM DAILY D. I. REPORT

CHAPTER II
EXHIBIT "A"

DATE_____

_____
RID PROGRAM DRILL INSTRUCTOR

PLATOON_____ SQUAD_____

PARTICIPANT'S NAME	MSP NUMBER	PHYSICAL TRAINING	HYGIENE	MOTIVATION	SELF-IMAGE	CONVERSATION	DEMERITS	TOTAL SCORE: DRILL AND CEREMONY

DRILL INSTRUCTORS RESPONSIBILITIES AND EXPECTATIONS

1. Each Drill Instructor is responsible for teaching Drill and Ceremonies to each RID offender.

2. Each Drill Instructor must be able to explain and demonstrate each drill movement in a military manner.

3. Drill Instructors must be in a proper uniform while on Duty. Proper Uniform includes:

   Drill Instructor Hat (oval green)
   Military style army boots (black)
   Pistol Belt
   Camouflage BDU's (shirt/pants)
   Army Brown T-shirts

4. Drill Instructor uniforms are to be clean, neat, and pressed at all times.

5. Drill Instructors will strive always to project an image of firmness, fairness, and impartiality.

6. Drill Instructors will not play favorites or let personal biases cloud their judgement in any situation.

7. Drill Instructors will never use obscene or abusive languages when engaged with offenders.

8. Drill Instructors will never engage in horse-play or physical contact with the RID offenders or any other offenders.

9. Common Courtesy is a desirable quality and the Drill Instructors will make every effort to instill this character in the RID offenders by example and by instruction.

10. Drill Instructors will command respect by showing offenders the same courtesy and respect they expect from them.

CHAPTER III

CASE MANAGER SERVICES

ORIENTATION:

Upon entry into the Regimented Inmate Discipline Program each participant will receive orientation into the Program by the Case Manager. The orientation will include:

1. Signing of volunteer contracts and media release forms. (See Ch. II, exhibits "A" & "B")

2. An explanation of the Program to include:
   1. Philosophy of the Program

   2. Mississippi Statute #47-7-47

The orientation sessions will be held after twenty four (24) hours, but before seventy two (72) hours after entry into the RID Program. The only exceptions will be when the participant has an appointment for on going classification processing to include visits to sick call, psychology Dept. or Classification Committee.

ALCOHOL AND DRUG THERAPHY:

Shortly after the RID offender arrives at the RCCF, she is screened for any problems she may be having with Alcohol and Drug abuse, but in most cases the Judge has already sentenced her to the A & D RID Program because of substance abuse. This program is open to all RID offenders.

THE RID/A & D Program is a (3) month program consisting of (6) phases. Each of these phases is directed toward the specific needs that are prevalent in the life of the Alcohol or Drug user that enters the program.

Within the A & D Program, the day is filled with activities that will bring attention to her substance abuse problems. In the morning there are lectures, movies and group sessions to attend and in the afternoon and evening there are A.A. and N.A. meetings as well as personal counseling sessions. There is also a well developed spiritual program. This is a clinically designed program which will provide the foundation on which the offender may build a substance free life. Upon completion of the A & D Program, the offender is awarded a certificate of completion and is staffed to determine if further treatment is needed. If it is determined that further treatment is needed she is assigned to extend in-unit A & D Treatment Program at Building D for RID Participants.

Goals of the RID A & D Program

(1) Provides motivation and makes the addicted person more aware of her problems. Group sessions and one on one counseling give the addicted person the opportunity to express "feelings and Emotions of positive results. A review and feedback sessions to coach the addicted to cope with these problems. There is much emphasis placed on abuse education, spiritual awareness, and after care where the addict can attain help after being released.

This program consists of two (2) group sessions each week of one hour each. One meeting is a group participation meeting along the model of A.A. The second meeting is educational and devoted to the study of substance abuse. The offenders stay in this program until he/she graduates from the RID Program. Upon graduation, the offender is given a follow-up program which he will complete and return to the Unit Counselor. The RID/ A & D Program is a three phase program consisting of:

1. A two (2) week Clinical Program.
2. The in-unit RID/A & D Program.
3. A take home follow-up program.

INDIVIDUAL COUNSELING

The RID Case Manager will facilitate individual counseling sessions for the participants of the RID Program. These sessions will be facilitated on a priority basis. Emergency counseling sessions will be held as the need arises. The RID Case Manager will act as liason between the individual RID participants and the Mississippi Department of Corrections Programs to include:

1. Chaplains Department
2. Offender Services
3. Alcohol and Drug Program

FEEDBACK SESSIONS

Sessions are held on a weekly basis in conjunction with the Drill Commander or his representative. At the feedback sessions the individual participants will be given an assignment of the progress in the program. Suggestions as to actions which will upgrade individual progress will be given during the feedback sessions.

DATA GATHERING

The Case Manager will gather data utilizing a checklist to evaluate the individual progress of the participants. (See Chapter III, Exhibit "C", for an example of Case Managers Evaluation form).

The Case Manager will follow an established methodology in application of the numerical rating system.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF INCOMING DATA

Statistical data will be kept weekly on each participant to judge her progress through out the program. This data will also be used to determine the significant factors that may be relevent in determining tne percentage of those offenders who return to Prison (recidivisim rate).

Her level of success will be based on completion of the RID Program. Acceptable average is 80% or above.

Exhibit A

REGIMENTED INMATE DISCIPLINE PROGRAM

Welcome, R.I.D. Participant! You have been selected either by your sentencing Judge or the Department of Offender Services to participate in the Regimented Inmate Discipline Program which will last for approximately 90 to 120 days. The goals of this program are to teach you to accept responsibility and to help you to develop self-discipline, a positive attitude, and to create the kind of values that will enable you to return to the free society as a productive and law abiding citizen.

The program will consist of intensive instructions in military bearing and courtesy. You will be expected to march, perform facing movements, participate in flag ceremonies, count cadence and to perform different types of physical exercise. In addition, you will be required to have good personal hygiene and grooming habits. Your living area will also be expected to be clean and neat at all times. You will be involved in other structured activities such as work programs, substance abuse programs, a counseling program, and vocational/educational activites.

This is strictly a volunteer program. If you do not wish to participate you may decline. However, this information will be forwarded to your sentencing Judge and to the Department of Offender Services who may at that point choose to eliminate you from the possibility of an Early Release or release to a Community Work Center. You are also expected to agree to participate in class activities and psychological testing/evaluation. Some of which may be used for research purposes.

Once you enter the program you will be expected to complete it. If for some reason you are dropped from the program, you will not be allowed to re-enter. The Judge and Department of Offender Services will be informed and it will be their decision as to whether or not you will remain eligible for an early release on probation or release to a C.W.C.

A schedule and the operating procedures will be explained to you during your orientation period. If you understand this document and agree to participate in the R.I.D. program, please sign your name below.

R.I.D. Participant's Signature:_____ MDOC#_____

Date:_____

Case Manager's Signature:_____ Date:_____

Unit Administrator's Signature:_____ Date:_____

cc: Original to Offender Services
Case Manager
Inmate

CHAPTER III
EXHIBIT "B"

RELEASE AGREEMENT OF REGIMENTED INMATE DISCIPLINE (RID) PARTICIPANTS

I, the undersigned RID Participant, hereby release the Mississippi State Board of Corrections, the Department of Corrections, their agents and employees, any and all forms of communications media, and their agents or employees from any liability growing out of the use of my name, body and/or facial image, voice, writings, opinions, or any other form of communications created by or attributed to me as related to my participation in the RID Program.

I also release and give to any of the a bove persons or organizations all rights, title and interest in any completed work incorporating any of the above uses of my name, voice, image, writings, opinions or any other form of communications created by or attributed to me in reference to my participation in the RID Program.

The above persons or organizations may use these items as it/they see fit including the right to transfer to assignees, who I also specifically herein release from any such liability.

Further, I hereby give my expressed consent to have photographic portraits or pictures, moving pictures and audiovisual recordings of my person and voice for television viewing taken. I do hereby waive any right that I may have to inspect or approve the finished product that may be used in connection with the use to which this may be applied.

_____ _____

Inmate Signature and Number Date

_____ _____

Staff Witness Date

EXHIBIT "C"

CASE MANAGER SESSION

CASE MANAGER_____

R.I.D. Program Progess Report
and Need Analysis Information

DATE_____

PLATOON_____SQUAD_____

RID PARTICIPANTS NAME AND NUMBER	PARTICIPATION IN LABS	PRACTICAL PROJECTS	INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS	OCCUPATIONAL	MEDICAL	ADJUSTMENT	SPIRITUAL	TOTAL CASE MANAGER SCORE

*Y= YES N=NO

TREATMENT PROGRAM

IV.

CLASSES

CHAPTER IV.

Five (5) classes are conducted on morality. The first class discusses a variety of criteria that indicates a person's morality. Morality as being:

(1). Behavior that helps another human being
(2). Behavior in conformity with societal norms
(3). The internalization of societal norms
(4). The arousing of empathy or guilt or both
(5). Reasoning about justice and
(6). Putting another's interest ahead of one's own

The next four (4) classes discusses the four major components of morality.

COMPONENT I - Interpreting the situation.

This involves the identification of possible courses of action ir a situation that affect the welfare of someone else.

COMPONENT II - A person is aware of alternate courses of action in a situation and is aware of how these actions affect others.

This involves integrating the various considerations in as much as they count for or against the alternative courses of action. It involves what ought to be done in a situation.

COMPONENT III - The person chooses what to do.

This involves deciding what one actually intends to do. The morally ideal course of action is defined.

COMPONENT IV - Executing and implementing a plan of action.

This invovles figuring out the sequence of concrete actions, working around impediments and unexpected difficulties, overcoming fatigue and frustration and not losing sight of the eventual goal.

This course on morality is taken from James R. Rest, Study On Morality. A course on judging mroal issues will also be conducted. This course will be taught from James R. Rest book on Development In Judging Moral Issues.

TEST

A Carlson Psychological Survey is done on all participants in the RID Program who are able to read on an average level. The C.P.S. is used to describe types of criminal offenders. It serves as an aid in the assessment of the criminal offender.

All participants are administered the Defining Issues Test (D.I.T.). This test is designed to determine the moral development of the RID participant.

INTERNAL CONTROL WITHIN RID

In order to have the most updated data on each individual who participates in RID, there are two (2) checklist sheets which are designed to control several crucial factors:

1. Chapter II. - Exhibit "A" and Exhibit "B"
2. Chapter III. - Exhibit "C"

These consist of relevant factors which the program is designed to accomplish for the purpose of changing an offender's perspective on life in order to adapt themselves more easily, act purposefully, and think rationally.

Also, these check lists give a better and more accurate view of the offender's needs after her release and present status at time of incarceration.

The final assessment of each offender consists of checklists, psychological screening, and staffing. These checklists are used as the criteria for providing a better picture of each individual's functioning in order to predict and to control behavior.

ASSESSMENT OF DATA

The data gathered by the Drill Instructors, Case Managers, and Class Instructor will be used to determine the recommendation for release of the offenders, for the development of the program itself, and as the cornerstone for further research and development. These assessments help to safeguard the program from becoming static and outdated, and also give a good indication as to whether the RID (s) should be retained, extended an additional thirty (30) days, expelled from the Program, or graduate.

The decision making committee regarding expulsion from the Program will consist of the:

1. RID Coordinator
2. Unit Administrator
3. Case Manager
4. Drill Instructor

The policy of the RID Program requires that each offender can be afforded one (1) rule violation report with consideration for the nature of the violation. If the violation is serious or bizarre, the person may be dropped from the Program, otherwise she can remain on a "one more chance" basis. Also three (3) informal resolutions have the same weight as one rule violation report.

GROUP COUNSELING

Once a week a group counseling class is conducted, using reality therapy. In these sessions we try to incorporate two basic psychological needs:

The need to love and be loved.

The need to feel that we are worthwhile to ourselves and to others.

Through these counseling sessions, we try to help the inmate to understand responsibility, which is a basic concept of Reality Therapy. Responsibility is defined as the ability to fulfill one's need in a way that does not deprive others of the ability to fulfill their needs.

INDIVIDUAL COUNSELING

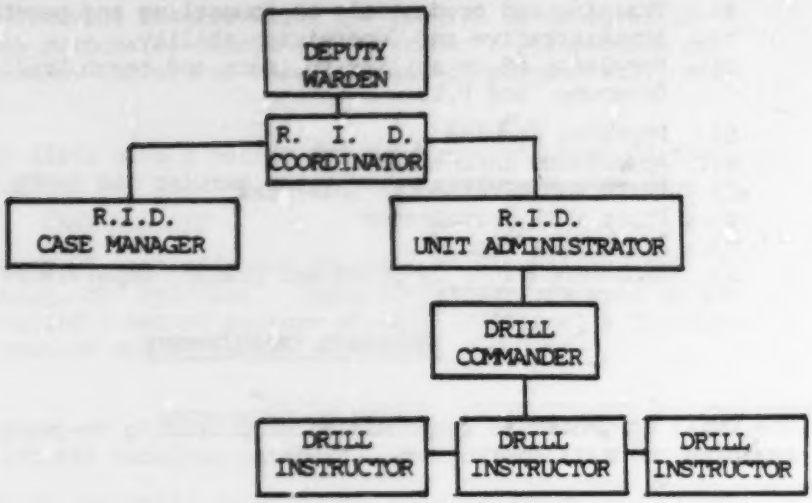
Individual counseling is offered to any participant of the RID Program by the Psychiatric Assistant.

GOALS OF COUNSELING SESSION

1. Establish a relationship.
2. Determine the inmates value system and work with her.
3. Help the inmate discover the goals of her present behaviors and feelings.
4. Help the inmate to see the relationship between what she does and how she feels.
5. Ask inmate to relate several long term goals. Show her what long term goals her present behaviors are likely to lead to.
6. Help the inmate assess whether her long term goals are realistic.
7. Once the inmate has indicated realistic long term goals, confront her with specific behaviors and feelings she has now that are leading her away from long term goals. Make her responsible toward her goals.
8. Assist the inmate in identifying and evaluating alternative strategies for reaching her long term goals - Alternatives to her present self-defeating feelings and behaviors.

PERSONNEL SELECTION AND DEVELOPMENT
STAFFING PATTERN FOR RID PROGRAM

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



PERSONNEL SELECTIONS

Personnel selections are made based on the employee's:

1. Ability to comprehend purpose and philosphy of the Program.
2. Level of Professionalism.
3. Knowledge, expertise, and ability to make significant contributions to specific components of the Program,i.e.:

   a). Training and credentials in counseling and psychology.
   b). Administrative and Supervision ability.
   c). Knowledge of or ability to learn and teach Drill and Ceremony, and P.T.

   d). Physical stamina
   e). Appearance in uniform
   f). Performance/rating in interview
   g). Prior work performance
   h). Attendance record
   i). Recommendations by prior and present Supervisors.

PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT

The Drill commander is responsible for providing on-going and in-service training to Drill Instructors. Training includes the following:

1. Military Cadences
2. Drill and Ceremony
3. Policy and Procedures
4. RID Rules and Regulations
5. Overview of Program Goals
6. Professional behavior

The RID Coordinator is responsible for providing all inservice training to the Case Manager and other Staff.

The Superintendent of Security and Correctional Psychologist are both responsible for providing inservice training to the Second Chance Volunteers who work with RID releases. The RID Volunteer Co-ordinator will coordinate in-service in this area. This Program will be effective in January, 1988.

All RID Staff will complete a two (2) to four (4) hour mini course on "Leadership Skills" presented by the Deputy Superintendent or his designee.

INTERNAL CONTROL WITHIN RID

In order to have the most updated data on each individual who participates in RID, there are two (2) checklist sheets which are designed to control several crucial factors:

1. Chapter II. - Exhibit "A" and Exhibit "B"
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These consist of relevant factors which the program is designed to accomplish for the purpose of changing an offender's perspective on life in order to adapt themselves more easily, act purposefully, and think rationally.

Also, these check lists give a better and more accurate view of the offender's needs after her release and present status at time of incarceration.

The final assessment of each offender consists of checklists, psychological screening, and staffing. These checklists are used as the criteria for providing a better picture of each individual's functioning in order to predict and to control behavior.

ASSESSMENT OF DATA

The data gathered by the Drill Instructors, Case Managers, and Class Instructor will be used to determine the recommendation for release of the offenders, for the development of the program itself, and as the cornerstone for further research and development. These assessments help to safeguard the program from becoming static and outdated, and also give a good indication as to whether the RID (s) should be retained, extended an additional thirty (30) days, expelled from the Program, or graduate.

The decision making committee regarding expulsion from the Program will consist of the:

1. RID Coordinator
2. Unit Administrator
3. Case Manager
4. Drill Instructor

The policy of the RID Program requires that each offender can be afforded one (1) rule violation report with consideration for the nature of the violation. If the violation is serious or bizarre, the person may be dropped from the Program, otherwise she can remain on a "one more chance" basis. Also three (3) informal resolutions have the same weight as one rule violation report.

Chapter VI.

TENTATIVE PLANS

For a period of one and a half years following release from the Institution, the RID graduates will be placed in a structured "After-Care" Program. The Second Chance Program, in conjunction with the RID Staff will provide:

a. Therapeutic Counseling Services
b. Aid to re-adjustment
c. Occupational Aid
d. Spiritual Guidance

The After-Care Program will provide valuable information as to the individual RID Participants prognosis for success, as well as providing feedback for program development. In-service training for the Volunteer workers of the Second Chance Program will be provided by the RID Staff.

APPENDIX D-2

Oklahoma DOC Medical Screening Procedures

CHAPTER II. SCREENING NEW ARRIVALS AND INITIAL HEALTH ASSESSMENT AT LEXINGTON ASSESSMENT & RECEPTION CENTER

Medical screening shall be performed by qualified health services personnel, or other health trained staff, on all new inmates, excluding intra-system transfers, immediately upon arrival at Lexington Assessment and Reception Center.

Screening

This shall be completed immediately upon arrival by a health trained correctional officer or intake interviewer, or qualified health services personnel. All findings shall be recorded on a printed screening form approved by the health authority. This screening shall include the following:

Inquiry to determine:

Current illness and health problems, including dental problems, venereal diseases, or other infectious diseases;

Whether there is a history of alcohol or drug abuse; including types of drugs used, mode of use, amount and frequency, date or time of last use, and history of problems which have occurred after withdrawal of the drug;

Current or recent (past six (6) months) treatment or hospitalization for medical/mental conditions or history of suicide attempts;

Other health problems as designated by the responsible physician.

Observation of:

Behavior which includes level of consciousness, mental status, appearance, conduct, tremor, and sweating;

Body deformities and ease of movement;

Condition of skin, which includes trauma markings, bruises, lesions, jaundice, rashes, infections, infestations, and/or needle marks.

Disposition of Inmate:

Placed in Assessment and Reception Housing Unit;

Placed in Assessment and Reception Housing Unit with prompt referral to appropriate health service;

Referred to health services on an emergency basis.

Initial Health Assessment

Qualified health professionals at Lexington Assessment and Reception Center shall perform a complete health assessment on each inmate within fourteen (14) days after arrival. If evidence of a health appraisal performed by the Oklahoma Department of Corrections within the previous ninety (90) days exist, a new assessment shall not be required unless medically indicated. The Lexington Assessment and Reception Center health services staff shall be responsible for initial generation of the inmate health record.

Health assessment shall include, but shall not be limited to, the following:

Review the screening process completed in the receiving area or by the intake interviewer;

Review Health History (DOC Form 161005) which has been completed by the inmate;

Collect additional data to complete the medical, dental, mental health, and immunization history to include obtaining a release of information in order to obtain pertinent outside health care information;

Perform laboratory, x-ray, and/or other diagnostic tests to detect communicable diseases, including venereal disease and tuberculosis;

Record height, weight, pulse, blood pressure, and temperature;

Perform other tests and examinations as appropriate, to include visual and auditory screening; and

Perform medical examination, including review of mental and dental status.

The results of all examinations, tests, and identification of problems shall be reviewed by a physician or other qualified health care personnel, as authorized by the Medical Practice Act.

Initiate therapy when appropriate

Develop and implement treatment plan including recommendations concerning housing, job assignment, and program participation (if required).

Appropriate health services staff shall flag medical records for identification of inmates with serious medical/physical or psychiatric problems. The Separatee/Medical Flag Data Entry Input (DOC form 062035) shall be completed and forwarded to the Director of Classification to be entered in the computer.

APPENDIX E

Contact Persons in States with Shock Incarceration Programs

Florida

James G. Mitchell
Director of Youthful Offender Programs
Florida Department of Corrections
1311 Winewood Boulevard
Tallahassee, Florida 32301
(904) 488-6903

Georgia

Vince Fallin
Deputy Commissioner for Probation
Georgia Department of Corrections
Floyd Building, Twin Towers East, Room 756
2 Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
(404) 656-4747

Louisiana

Gary Gremillion
Classification Administrator
Department of Public Safety and Corrections
P.O. Box 94304
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70804-9304
(504) 342-6656

Michigan

Don Hengesh
Director, Special Alternative Incarceration
Bureau of Correctional Facilities
Grandview Plaza
P.O. Box 30001
Lansing, Michigan 48909
(517) 373-0287

Mississippi

John Grubbs
Deputy Commissioner for Community Services
Mississippi Department of Corrections
723 N. President Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202
(601) 354-6454

New York

Philip Coombe
Deputy Commissioner, Correctional Facilities
New York State Department of Correctional Services
Building 2, State Campus
Albany, New York 12226
(518) 457-8138

Oklahoma

Gary Maynard
Director, Oklahoma Department of Corrections
3400 Martin Luther King, Jr. Avenue
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73111
(405) 427-6511

Orleans Parish (LA)

Gabe Abene
Director of Training
Orleans Parish Criminal Sheriff's Office
2800 Gravier
New Orleans, Louisiana 70119
(504) 822-8000

South Carolina

Mike Cavenaugh
Executive Director
Department of Parole and Community Corrections
P.O. Box 50666
Columbia, South Carolina 29250
(803) 734-9244

James L. Harvey
Administrator, Midlands Correctional Region
South Carolina Department of Corrections
4444 Broad River Road
P.O. Box 21787
Columbia, South Carolina 29221
(803) 737-8543

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